

more important to Arcadius even than the exaltation of the Christian religion was the loyal observance by citizens of their duties to the state.⁴⁸

For the reign of Arcadius' successor, Theodosius II, there is evidence of the building of churches by provincial governors and military leaders, especially in Syria.⁴⁹ Most important were the religious structures erected by Theodosius' estranged wife Eudocia. A modern authority calls her the greatest private benefactor in Palestine.⁵⁰ We are told that she placed a six thousand-pound copper cross over the Church of the Ascension in Jerusalem, gave four hundred gold pieces to a monastery nearby, and built the church of St. Stephen, also in Jerusalem, besides erecting a palace for the patriarch of Jerusalem, who was now becoming important. It has been estimated that in all she spent in Palestine 20,480 pounds of gold, that is, a million and a half gold coins, two gold coins then being enough to keep one person for a year. Whether a conclusion may be drawn here as to any connection between her efforts and those of the government to control the spread of Monophysitism in Palestine is a question that still awaits investigation.

The external difficulties of the empire, which waxed more and more serious, now prevented the emperors from undertaking much monumental church building. In Italy in 476, the Germanic invasions culminated with the deposition of the last Western Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus. In the East the reigns of the emperors Marcian, Leo I, Leo II, and Zeno seem relatively unimportant to our problem, and we come therefore to Anastasius. To strengthen the empire, he built the famous long walls protecting the approaches to Constantinople, and he also promoted a reform of the coinage, leaving a full treasury for his successor Justin. It is of interest, moreover, that Anastasius was the first emperor to be required by the patriarch to take an oath before his enthronement that he would make no changes in the Orthodox creed—obviously to prevent partisanship on his part for the Monophysites.⁵¹

Under Justin, as most historians agree, the power behind the throne was his nephew Justinian. And it seems probable that Justinian did much of his less ostentatious building during his uncle's reign. As noted earlier, Justinian was at once probably the greatest of all Byzantine imperial builders and the most "Caesaropapistic" of emperors. But the question here is not why he became even more a master of the church than his predecessors—why, for example, he

was able not only to secure Pope Vigilius's assent to virtually all his wishes but even to induce the fathers of the Fifth Ecumenical Council to accept his own revised Theopaschite interpretation of Chalcedonian doctrine.⁵² Rather, the question is how this mastery he achieved over the church was or was not reflected in his extensive church-building program.

It was Justinian's basic political aim to restore the old Roman frontiers, to reconquer the West from the Arian Germans, and, at the same time, in the East, to preserve the loyalty of his provinces in the face of the Persian advances by placating the Monophysites.⁵³ In Justinian's eyes, as in Constantine's, there was no question that the concept of the unity of empire was absolutely fundamental. But to him, as to his predecessor, it meant not only imposition of one correct Orthodox faith under one emperor. Even more explicitly and emphatically than under Constantine, the law codes of Justinian—in which he is termed the Elect of God, king-priest, even archpriest (*archierefs*)⁵⁴—reveal how church and state had become more closely tied together than ever before. Rather than the church's being simply a department of state, however, as some scholars have inaccurately put it, under Justinian the church and state might better be considered parallel branches of the one Christian commonwealth, Eusebius' Basileia, over which the emperor presided as God's vicerent.

Because of Justinian's close association of church and state and the religious significance he attached to his imperial authority, not to speak of the tenacity of Byzantine ecclesiastical tradition, it seems very possible that the so-called liturgical privileges attributed to the emperors by the later Byzantine canonists may have become crystallized in Justinian's time. The canonists speak of the emperor as a kind of semipriestly figure who could perform certain liturgical functions normally reserved only to the priesthood: the emperor could, for example, preach during the religious service, enter into the sanctuary itself where the altar was, cense the people, and even take communion from the cup with his own hands without the mediation of the priest. It would be wrong, however, as Mitard and Diehl do, to call the emperor a priest. For in the last analysis he could not administer the sacraments.⁵⁵

To what extent do we see reflected in Justinian's church-building program an emphasis on the unity of faith in the Christian empire, that is, on Orthodoxy, or right belief in the basic sense of the word?

The historian Evagrius gives us at least a hint of such an emphasis when he speaks of the Western areas reconquered from the heretic Arian Germans. In the 150 cities of Vandal Africa restored to the empire by Justinian, the emperor built "vast structures [by which] cities are adorned and the Deity propitiated,"⁵⁶ a statement that would seem to refer to Orthodox churches. One modern historian emphasizes that Justinian's construction, in former Ostrogothic territory, of the church of San Vitale at Ravenna was primarily intended to supplant Arian with Orthodox worship,⁵⁷ as seems to have been the case with his construction of the churches mentioned in Vandal Africa, for example at Septum.⁵⁸ And we have explicit evidence, often overlooked, from John of Ephesus, a Monophysite, that Justinian built 96 churches, 55 of them explicitly with imperial funds, for the use of the converted "Hellenes," that is, former pagans, in Western Asia Minor.⁵⁹ The evidence of these statements would certainly seem to indicate that Justinian, like Constantine before him, followed a policy of encouraging the construction of churches in order to combat heresy as well as paganism.

In the construction of St. Sophia in Constantinople, undoubtedly Justinian's greatest building achievement, his architects, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus, achieved a solution to one of the most difficult engineering problems in architectural history, the erecting of a huge, round masonry dome over a large square surface. One leading art historian, B. Smith, believes that Justinian may have been impelled to construct St. Sophia's magnificent dome less from structural or aesthetic considerations than from the influence of ideas long current in the Near East—the imagery of the dome representing heaven, that is, a kind of celestial canopy over the earth, both heaven and earth constituting halves of a great cosmic egg. These ideas are connected with the popular cult of the old pagan heroes, the Greek Dioskouroi, who were considered precursors of the Christian martyrs and whose cult, it appears, was of deep interest to Justinian.⁶⁰ Justinian's contemporary, the poet Paul the Silentiary, in his long encomium in honor of the church of St. Sophia, seems to draw precisely on the above imagery when he describes St. Sophia's dome as "the great [celestial] helmet, which, rounded in all respects like a sphere, embraces the top of the building [the church] like the radiant heavens."⁶¹

Justinian dedicated his cathedral of St. Sophia to the Divine Wisdom, the Logos, that is, to Christ himself. (In the *De Aedificiis*,

Procopius says explicitly that the Byzantines sometimes called God "Sophia.")⁶² But it seems certain that Justinian envisioned St. Sophia as a symbol of his own imperial authority as well. We know that it was his aim to build the most magnificent church in all Christendom, and for this purpose (he was not the first Christian emperor to do so, by the way)⁶³ he despoiled ancient temples of their treasures. The remark that Byzantine writers report Justinian to have made at the completion of the structure, "Solomon, I have surpassed thee,"⁶⁴ is particularly significant, because it emphasizes Justinian's connection with the most famous Hebrew king-priest and temple builder. Paul the Silentiary, in his descriptive panegyric on St. Sophia (evidently written at imperial request), speaks of the day of that church's dedication as one in which "God and the emperor are celebrated together" (*theos te kai Basileus semnynetai*).⁶⁵ And more than once in his *De Aedificiis*, Procopius, while praising Justinian's personal abilities as a kind of nonprofessional architect-engineer, attributes his success in solving difficult problems of church construction, above all, to his partnership (*syndiaprassetai*) with God.⁶⁶

There is a very striking and effective argument, based on John Malalas, regarding the emperor's building creations, *ktiseis*⁶⁷ (the same Greek term used, incidentally, as the title of Procopius' *Buildings*),⁶⁸ in imitation of divine creativity—evidence which further emphasizes the parallel we have been drawing between God's power in heaven and his viceroy's activities on earth. In connection with this imperial ideology, it would be useful, also, if it could be determined whether or not the famous passage in Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' *De Cerimoniis*, regarding the emperor's double throne, obtained as early as the reign of Justinian. According to this tenth-century source, the emperor's throne was a double one. The emperor usually sat on the right side, which was considered that of Christ. On Sundays and feast days, however, he sat on the left, leaving the right side vacant so as to make it visible to all that he shared (*synthronos*) his throne with Christ.⁶⁹

In our analysis of the reigns of the emperors from Constantine to Justinian, we may, then, distinguish three basic interrelated purposes in their policy of constructing churches. Aside from the obvious practical desire to provide places of worship where none previously existed (as in the newly converted area of Tzanica in eastern Asia Minor, under Justinian),⁷⁰ the imperial building programs seem basically to have been motivated by: (1) a wish to promote the one

true faith (as the emperors saw it) to the detriment of paganism and heresy; (2) the ideological aim (aided by what several scholars have termed "imperial propaganda")⁷¹ of glorifying the imperial power as the representative on earth of the divine power in heaven (seen most clearly in St. Sophia); and (3) (and this is an overlapping psychological consideration that would not, of course, normally be documented in the official sources except in such a work as Procopius' vituperative anti-Justinianic *Secret History*)⁷² the emperors' desire to satisfy their own personal egoism and ambition which, in the Weltanschauung of the period, they fused in their own minds with the concept of the emperor as commissioned by God to rule the earth. As Justinian put it, in a typical phrase drawn from his *Codex Justinianus* that expresses what might be called this political theology: "We rule, by the authority of God, the empire which has been entrusted to us by the majesty of Heaven."⁷³

To conclude, it seems clear that in the case of virtually every emperor we have studied, there existed a definite correlation—expressed or unexpressed—between the emperor's policy of control (or lack of control) over the church, that is, his so-called "Caesaro-papism," and his policy with regard to the construction of churches. In general, then, it may be said that the emperors' building of religious structures constituted an instrument, not only for the furthering of imperial control over the church, but, through imperial insistence on ecclesiastical unity as reflected in the aims of their building policy, for promoting the ultimate aim of the unity of the empire itself.

Maximos the Confessor and his Influence on Eastern and Western Theology and Mysticism

Maximos the Confessor, the Byzantine monk of the seventh century, is sometimes termed "the last independent-thinking theologian of the Eastern Church."¹ His works include primarily theological treatises and scriptural exegesis, especially the *Ambigua*, the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, the *Four Centuries on Love*, and letters. Besides his own contribution to theology, in particular to the formulation of christological doctrine (in opposition to the dangerous Monothelite heresy), he is, at least in the West, even better known as the principal exegete of the mystical writings of Pseudo-Dionysius—the latter being undoubtedly the chief influence on Western, and one of the most basic influences on Eastern, mysticism and spirituality during the entire medieval period. Maximos' main contribution in this respect was not only to systematize the many loose ideas of Dionysius but also to draw out their implications for christological theology.² It is the purpose of this chapter to trace, as through the links of a chain, the surprisingly widespread but not well-known influence of Maximos on subsequent theologians of both West and East and, in the process, perhaps to uncover several unknown or little-known links in this chain.

Maximos' works were apparently known throughout the entire Period of Byzantine history; yet there remains a surprising amount of research to be done in order to delineate the extent of his influence on specific Byzantine scholars and theologians, such as Anastasius in the ninth century, Euthemius Zigabenos and Symeon the "New Theologian" in the eleventh, Nicetas Choniates in the twelfth, Patriarch Gregory Palamas and Nicholas Kabasilas and their opponents Nicephorus Gregoras and the Byzantine "Scholastic" John Cyparissiotis in the fourteenth, and last of all, his impact on the sixteenth-century, post-Byzantine bishop who lived in Venice, Maximos Margounios.³

For the West, the chain of Maximos' influence is rather more difficult to trace, and this largely because there, much more than in the East, after the ninth century he is almost exclusively known as *the* interpreter of Pseudo-Dionysius, to whose influential mystical writings several of Maximos' writings served as commentaries.⁴ But this very close Western identification of Maximos with Dionysius can nevertheless be of help in at least indicating Latin theologians who might have utilized works of the former. In the East, on the other hand, Maximos seems more often to have been used independently of Dionysius, as, for example, in connection with reaffirming and explaining points of christological doctrine to be found in earlier Byzantine Church Fathers. This distinction in the use of Maximos' work by Eastern and Western scholars of the Middle Ages is a point that should be emphasized.

The Orthodox champion against the emerging heresy of Monothelitism, Maximos came to Rome in 646, later appearing at the Lateran Council of 649 which, under his leadership, condemned Monothelitism. After this council, the first subsequent influence of Maximos' writings in the West seems to appear in the famous Carolingian philosopher John Scotus Erigena and in Anastasius, the papal librarian, both of the ninth century.⁵ Erigena first translated into Latin the mystical works of Dionysius and later the *Ambigua* and *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* of Maximos, the former an exegetical commentary primarily on Gregory Nazianzenus and, to a lesser degree, on Dionysius, and the latter a commentary on difficult passages of Scripture.⁶ Anastasius, the Greek librarian of Pope Nicholas I, corrected Erigena's translation of Dionysius and added to it, as an explanation, his own translation of the scholia composed by Maximos on Dionysius' mystical works.⁷ It is this so-called Anastasian corpus—that is, Dionysius' writings *with* Maximos' scholia attached—that evidently became the basis, so far as I can ascertain, for all or almost all subsequent Western scholarly work on Dionysius and therefore for subsequent knowledge of Maximos as well. Influenced by this "Anastasian corpus" in the West, it would seem, were, in the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of St. Victor,⁸ and Albert the Great; in the next century Thomas Aquinas¹⁰ and the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, who (as is sometimes forgotten) made a more accurate, if overly literal, translation of Maximos' prologue and scholia to the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and the *Divine Names* of Dionysius;¹¹ in the fourteenth century, perhaps, Meister Eckhart and the

group of Rhineland mystics; and finally, in the fifteenth century, Nicholas of Cusa, and as has hitherto not been noted, his friend, the Pisan Petrus Balbus.¹²

Though Maximos' influence in one way or another thus spanned the entire period from the seventh century to the sixteenth, it is clear that much research remains to be done to establish more of the links in the chain of his influence in both East and West. The question is rendered particularly complex because of the difficulty of knowing exactly which works of Maximos, and no less important in the West, which Latin versions of him, were used by each theologian, and again more in the West than East, the problem of disentangling, in the various theologians listed above, the strands of Maximos' thought from those of Dionysius. In this chapter I shall try to fill in some of the lacunae in our knowledge of the continuity of the tradition of Maximos by showing, or where appropriate reemphasizing, his influence on certain figures—first, on the ninth-century Western Hellenophile, John Scotus Erigena, and then as a kind of contrast or parallel, on the little-known fourteenth-century Byzantine Latino-phile, John Cyparissiotis, who lived for a time at Avignon and Rome. After remarks about the use made of Maximos by several theologians in connection with the procession of the Holy Spirit, I shall conclude with a few references to the interest in Maximos' writings shown by the Renaissance scholars Nicholas of Cusa and Petrus Balbus.

After the Lateran Council of 649, Western theologians were primarily attracted to Maximos because of his scholia, that is, his interpretation of the mystical writings of Dionysius. A copy of those works, along with his own scholia and perhaps others of his works, one scholar has suggested, Maximos may have left in, the Vatican library.¹³ Dionysius was believed (falsely) to have lived in, and become the first bishop of, Athens at the time of St. Paul's visit to that city, and then to have gone to Gaul, where, supposedly, he founded the monastery of St. Denys and suffered martyrdom in Paris at the hands of the pagan Germans. Western scholars have focused so intently on Maximos as the interpreter of Dionysius that they sometimes overlook other reasons for this Greek theologian's being so *persona grata* to the West, despite the growing antipathy, even that early, of some Latin theologians for the Byzantine church and state. Not only did Maximos champion the Orthodox-Catholic views against the Byzantine heresy of Monotheletism at the Lateran Council of 649, but, like Pope Martin, he suffered banishment to the Black Sea area,

where he died.¹⁴ And certainly Maximos' opposition to Byzantine imperial interference in ecclesiastical affairs made it easy for the West to identify with his anti-Caesaropapistic sentiments.

We know that in 827 the Byzantine emperor Michael II sent to the Western emperor, Louis the Pious, a copy of Dionysius' works in connection with the desire of the monks of the royal monastery of St. Denys (outside Paris) to secure the works of their supposed founder (and patron of the royal family of France), St. Dionysius. The imperfection of the translation of Dionysius made at this time by, or rather under the direction of Abbot Hilduin of St. Denys¹⁵ prompted the new Carolingian ruler and patron of learning, Charles the Bald, to have a more accurate translation made. And it was after the completion of this translation by John Scotus Erigena that Charles the Bald, for reasons not precisely known, asked Erigena also to translate Maximos the Confessor's commentaries (*Ambigua* in Latin; *peri aporiōn* in Greek) on difficult passages found in Gregory of Nazianzus and, to a much lesser degree, in Dionysius.¹⁶

In his preface, which he addressed to King Charles and attached to his rendering of the *Ambigua*, Erigena himself sheds a little light on the reasons for his translation, and incidentally bespeaks his high regard for Maximos. Here is a paraphrase:

It is a very difficult task you [Charles] have confided to me to translate this work of Maximos from Greek into Latin . . . and you requested that I do it in a hurry. . . . I have sought to achieve it as quickly as possible, and thanks to God I have finished. I would not have faced such darkness except for the fact that it is a most excellent apologia, and that I have noted that the Blessed Maximos frequently in his work affirms and clarifies the very obscure ideas of Dionysius the Areopagite, whom in the past I was also commissioned to translate.¹⁷

Erigena's intellectual development seems to fall into two stages—the first, in which he was under the influence of the Western Fathers, Gregory the Great and Isidore; and, more important here, the second, in which he was under the impact of Greek thought, especially that of Dionysius and Maximos. Scotus's knowledge of Greek, in spite of its many deficiencies, was rather remarkable for his time. Anastasius, Pope Nicholas' Greek librarian, though he emphasized the errors made by Erigena, thought it a miracle that a "barbarian" of such learning as Erigena could be found, as he put it, "at the ends of the

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Idealized portrait of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite as Apostle of the Gauls. From A. Thevet, *Pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres* (Paris, 1584). (See pp. 124-25.)



earth" ("in finibus mundi").¹⁸ Erigena himself admits that his knowledge of Greek was insufficient to render adequately the theology and ideas of Maximos into Latin.¹⁹ One may, in fact, note several rather obvious errors he made, for example, his rendering several times from Maximos' *Ambigua* of the word *pedais* as *pueris*.²⁰ We emphasize here the errors made by Erigena in translating from the Greek because it was the inadequacy of his translations of Dionysius that later induced the Western theologians John Sarrazenus and Robert Grosseteste of the thirteenth century to make new ones. The latter, so far as I can establish, was the only Western scholar after Anastasius to have translated the scholia of Maximos on Dionysius again.

Let us now examine a few theological-philosophical points or concepts which may serve to show the influence of Maximos' thought on that of Erigena. To begin with, Erigena seems to have borrowed the title of his great work, *De Divisione Naturae* (which he wrote after translating Dionysius and Maximos) from the phrase of Maximos, *peri physeōs merismou*. Besides phrases, Erigena also adopted or adapted for his work the concepts of Dionysius, in a number of cases as interpreted by Maximos. Erigena's doctrine of theophany, for instance, is evidently based directly on Maximos' formulation, based in turn on Dionysius. Erigena writes: "As far as the human mind ascends in love, so far the Divine Wisdom descends in mercy."²¹ Here we note, in both Maximos and Erigena, that a synergism is expressed, with man, in a restricted sense raising himself to God and God at the same time extending himself to man through mercy.

On the basic question of the nature of God, we summarize Erigena's thought, in which he refers to Maximos' position on Gregory of Nazianzus: "The essence of God is incomprehensible as is the essence [*ousia*] of all that exists. But as our human intellect, which is one and invisible in itself, yet manifests itself in words and deeds, and expresses its thought in letters and figures, so the Divine Essence, which is far above the reach of our intellect, manifests itself in the created universe."²² This striking metaphor of "letters and figures" with respect to man, and the created universe with regard to God, seems to be taken directly from Maximos' expression, *grammasi kai syllabais kai phōnais*, found in his *Ambigua*.²³ Erigena also borrowed from Maximos other terminology regarding the nature of God: for example, that the divine nature is *simplex*, or more than *simplex*—that is, not compounded, and that there is no number in

God. As Maximos himself put it: "God is . . . one, alone, primarily immovable, because he is without number, not being numerable or able to be numbered."²⁴

Turning to another question connected more with doctrine than with mystical thought, it is notable that Maximos was one of the very first theologians to deal with the dogmatic question of the nature of the Trinity in a manner that foreshadowed the famous controversy over the filioque clause. In his writing Maximos developed (perhaps even coined) a formula for the relationship of the Father and the Son with respect to the procession of the Holy Spirit. It is sometimes stated that the famous compromise phrase "through the Son," in connection with the filioque, was a late achievement, especially of such theologians as Bessarion at the Council of Florence in 1438-39. And yet the same phrase, or at least something very similar, can already be found in Maximos' writing on the Holy Spirit: "For as the Holy Spirit is by nature of the substance of God the Father, thus also the Holy Spirit is by nature of the substance of the Son, so that the Holy Spirit proceeding ineffably (*aphrastōs*) from the Father in essence, and through the Son, begotten [of the Father]."²⁵ Latin theologians have usually interpreted this passage as supporting the Western position of the filioque, though the words *di uiou gennēthentos aphrastōs ekporeuomenon*, to me at least, seem rather to imply mediation, and not necessarily that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the son.

On this question of the filioque, Erigena himself employed the expression *ex patre per filium*, a phrase probably based on the expositions of Dionysius, Gregory of Nazianzus, and especially Maximos.²⁶ It is interesting to observe that much later, after centuries of bitter conflict between East and West over this question, the sixteenth-century Greek humanist bishop living in Venice, Maximos Margounios, favored a similar solution, but one that also emphasized a distinction between the eternal and the temporal processions of the Holy Spirit. His views were in part, we know, based on those of Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus of the thirteenth century who, as shown by several recent scholars, had himself been affected by the teachings of Maximos.²⁷

Let us turn to the influence of Maximos on the little-known fourteenth-century Byzantine theologian, John Cyparissiotēs, whom we have already mentioned. Under the influence of Dominican theologians residing in the East and the Thomist circle of Cydonēs formed

in the Byzantine court, Cyparissiotēs became a Latinophile. John's main activities are closely connected with the Hesychast conflict of the later fourteenth century, in which he was, after the Italo-Greek monk Barlaam, one of the most fervid opponents of the mystical Palamite theology of the monks of Mt. Athos. For reasons probably owing to this conflict, he first left Constantinople for Cyprus, where many friends of his teacher Nicephorus Gregoras had already found refuge. Then later, apparently on the advice of his friend, the Grand Logothete Demetrios Cydonēs, himself a Latinophile, he went to Italy, where he entered the court of Pope Gregory XI. There, as noted earlier, his erudition earned him the Latin epithet *Sapiens*.²⁸

The primary sources upon which Cyparissiotēs draws for one of his two principal writings, the "scholastic" *Ekthesis stoicheiōdēs hrēseon theologikōn*,²⁹ which he composed in the form of ten Decades, are Dionysius and Maximos. It has been estimated by the recent editor of Cyparissiotēs, B. Dentakis, that Cyparissiotēs used 162 passages from Dionysius, and that the ratio of his use of Maximos to Dionysius is two to five.³⁰ In the Migne *Patrologia Graeca*, volume 152, we find, under the printed text of Cyparissiotēs' work in the two Decades called *De Theologia Symbolica* and *De Theologia Demonstrativa*, a large number of scholia of Maximos either on Dionysius or other early Greek Fathers, which seem to be directly related to the text of Cyparissiotēs. These, however, were evidently placed there to show the extensive use of Maximos, by Cyparissiotēs' sixteenth-century Latin translator, Francisco Torres. The original Greek text of Cyparissiotēs' work has not yet been published.³¹

Many of the main ideas of Cyparissiotēs are to be found in his first Decade, entitled *De Theologia Symbolica*. Here he repeatedly quotes Maximos as an authority on explaining the nature of symbolic theology: "Maximos calls 'symbolic' also that theology which pertains to mysteries."³²

Cyparissiotēs goes on to reflect the thought of Maximos to the effect that mysteries pertaining to theology are signified in symbols—that is, symbols become the media by which we understand God, or in other words, God manifests himself in symbols.³³ Similar passages can be found in Cyparissiotēs' treatment of the question of man's knowledge of God, the nature of God, and the attributes of the divine. These subjects are discussed by Cyparissiotēs in the second Decade, *De Theologia Demonstrativa*, under the chapter heading, "That God is not known on the basis of natural representation, and

that there is nothing [known] on the basis of intelligences or intellects, so that it is permitted to philosophize about him on the basis of his substance."³⁴

This argument of the nonadmissibility of philosophizing on the nature of God is, according to Cyparissiotēs himself, based directly on what Maximos had written. Thus, from century one, chapter one³⁵ of one of Maximos' several anti-Monothelite treatises, *Two Hundred Chapters on Theology and the Economy of the Incarnation*, he quotes Maximos: "The Holy Maximus, in his first chapter on theological matters, says, God is one, without beginning, incomprehensible, having, as it were, complete power over everything, rejecting completely the notion of when and how He is [and] known to none of those who exist, through natural representation."³⁶ We scarcely need note that the argument affirming man's inability logically to describe what God is, and stressing, rather, what we know that he is *not*—that is, the famous, so-called apophatic theology—was utilized by Greek theologians before Dionysius and Maximos. It was through their writings, especially by way of Erigena, however (see above, chap. 3), that it entered the stream of Western theology.³⁷

On the subject of divine "emanations"—love, peace, goodness—a Neoplatonic concept that, with qualification, became current in the West mainly through Dionysius, Cyparissiotēs, in the third Decade of this same work, *De Divinis Emanationibus*, again cites Maximos as his authority. Quoting Maximos, he writes: "Everything, Maximos says, which exists because of a cause and which is moved because of a cause, of necessity has a beginning in order to exist; that is, everything has that cause on account of which it was made so that it might be; indeed everything has, as an end to its motion, that very cause by which it is moved and toward which it is directed."³⁸ Cyparissiotēs thus summarizes in his own words (in the title of the second chapter of his *De Divinis Emanationibus*): "That every cause and motion and beginning which is mentioned about things that are generated, is generation, which is brought about at the same time as the things themselves that have been brought about."³⁹

Again under the Decade title, *De Infinitate Dei in Creaturis* (On the Infinity of God in Creatures), Cyparissiotēs quotes a passage from Gregory of Nazianzus on the cause for the existence of the Son as well as the Father, citing in support Maximos' scholia on Gregory: "Therefore, unity was moved from the beginning to the number of two."⁴⁰ In the same Decade, chapter four, he cites Maximos: "What-

ever things have been created in time according to time, after they have become perfected, come to an end of natural growth."⁴¹

On the basic problem of the Trinity, Cyparissiotēs once again utilizes Maximos' theological formulation, citing his dogmatic work, referred to above: "The Centuries on Theology of God and the Son with Respect to the Incarnation." This is shown in Cyparissiotēs' passage: "There is one good, absolutely without beginning and above substance, that is to say the holy unity of three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three who are without limits, etc."⁴² In the tenth Decade, on the problem of divine simplicity, Cyparissiotēs, quoting from Maximos' fourth century, chapter eight, says: "Do not inquire after category and the potential of the simple and infinite substance of the Holy Trinity, lest you make it composite like creatures."⁴³

It should be noted that despite his lengthy and rather impressive exegesis, Cyparissiotēs in this work is not truly original, utilizing, rather, a collection of traditional Greek authorities, consisting of Cyril of Alexandria, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, more frequently Maximos the Confessor, and above all, Dionysius.⁴⁴ The content is entirely Greek, though the method is rather like Latin Scholasticism, with its division, definition, demonstration, and resolution.

From the above exposition of passages, brief as it is, we may observe that both the Latin Erigena and especially the Greek Cyparissiotēs drew heavily on the work of Maximos, whom they obviously considered an authority. Moreover, in questions important to mystical theology—the nature of God, the attributes of the divine, and even the procession of the Holy Spirit—the carefully reasoned arguments of Maximos were for Erigena and Cyparissiotēs an essential, indeed sometimes the unique, authority for interpreting the often obscure passages of Dionysius.

While Cyparissiotēs, as Beck and Dentakis have shown, was influenced in his method by Latin theology⁴⁵—and he was perhaps the first and one of the very few Byzantine theologians actually to write theological tracts following the Western Scholastic method—it may in contrast be noted that his predecessor Erigena's admiration for the Greek language and Byzantine theology made him suspect to the anti-Greek pope and opponent of Photius, Nicholas I, to the degree that that pontiff, we are told, demanded to see his Greek translation.⁴⁶ Erigena's pro-Greek bias on theology and his daring praise of Constantinople over Rome, in the context of the breach taking shape between East and West under Nicholas and Photius,

made him a controversial figure in the West. Regarding what he termed the jealousy of old Rome for the new Rome, that is, Constantinople, Erigena wrote as follows:

Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur
Moribus et muris Roma vetusta cadis,
Transiit imperium, mansitque superbia tecum
Cultus avaritiae te nimium superat.⁴⁷

[Flourishing Constantinople is called the new Rome.

Old Rome, your customs and walls fall.

The imperium has crossed over, but arrogance has remained
with you,

The cult of avarice conquers you very much.]

Here, then, we have a kind of parallel: a Latin theologian, Erigena, who is pro-Byzantine, and a Byzantine theologian, Cyparissios, who becomes a Latinophile, both of whom draw on the Byzantine Maximos, who himself spent a great part of his career in the West and thus helped to interpret Eastern theology to the Latins. As Sherwood well puts it, the veneration for Maximos in the West was owing in part to his belonging to the "catholic"⁴⁸—that is, ecumenical—tradition of the early period when East and West were still part of one undivided church.

In conclusion we mention two Renaissance scholars: Nicholas of Cusa, whose philosophy was a synthesis of many elements but who probably was primarily a disciple of the Dionysian-Erigenian school of thought; and Petrus Balbus, his Pisan friend, colleague, and bishop of Tropea. Nicholas, who more than once refers to Erigena under the name "Scotigena,"⁴⁹ reveals his high regard for Maximos by affirming that Erigena was on the same level "with Dionysius, Maximos, and Hugo of St. Victor." Since Nicholas' principal work, *De docta ignorantia*, shows a striking parallel to the thought and method, especially the negative theology of Erigena who borrowed heavily from Dionysius partly by way of Maximos' *Ambigua*, it is likely that Nicholas was influenced, at least indirectly, by Maximos as well.⁵⁰ But to prove this conclusively, one would have to compare the ideas and terminology of Cusanus and Maximos at length and, especially, to determine which specific works of Maximos might have been used by Nicholas. Another way of approaching this question might be to consider the influence of Nicholas' close friend, fellow

student at Padua, and occasional translator from the Greek (he was a kind of secretary to Nicholas), the Pisan Petrus Balbus.⁵¹

An article published in *Theologia*, discussing the influence of Dionysius on Nicholas of Cusa, refers several times to Balbus's connection with Cusanus but curiously makes no mention whatever of the fact that Balbus translated certain works of Maximos: a letter of Maximos to John Cubicularius of Constantinople, *De dolore secundum deum*, and chapters from Maximos' *De Caritate*.⁵² (These manuscript translations of Maximos done by Balbus are still to be found in the Laurentiana of Florence and, supposedly, in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Capua.)⁵³ Although Maximos' commentaries on Dionysius (via Anastasius) were certainly known to Cusanus, can we say that Cusanus knew Maximos' *Ambigua* or his *Ad Thalassium*? Cusanus knew Plato and had looked for Greek manuscripts in Constantinople itself, but I find no specific evidence for his knowledge of either of these works. Nor is Balbus's interest in Maximos referred to in Van Steenbergh's famous biography of Nicholas of Cusa. Only the more recent work of Gandillac suggests, and at that obliquely, that Nicholas' use of the words *unitas* and *entitas* corresponds to Maximos' unusual Greek term *ontotes*.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, Cusanus's at least indirect interest in Maximos via Dionysius, together with his friend Balbus's actual translation of several of Maximos' lesser works, suggest the probable influence of Maximos' thought on that of the great Cusanus—a possibility which I believe warrants closer investigation.

From our exposition we may tentatively conclude that the influence of Maximos on the theological development of both East and West was perhaps more extensive than, or at least somewhat different from, what is generally believed. As in tracing a textual tradition, we have been able to add the names of a few more individuals to the chain of those who seem to have been affected by his writings. I should stress once again that Maximos' influence in the East differed from what it was in the West. In the East other works of Maximos such as the *De Caritate*, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, his *Mystagogia*, and minor works on dogmatic points, were in some ways no less influential than his commentaries on the mystical works of Dionysius, probably owing to the fact that before Dionysius a strong tradition of Christian mysticism already existed in the East. After the eighth century, the primary emphasis in the Byzantine East was on the preservation of the theological pronouncements of the ecumenical councils and the teachings of the Greek Fathers. Thus Maximos' ideas,

independent as they may in some ways have been—recall the characterization of him cited above⁵⁵—were in later centuries used to strengthen what was already accepted rather than to bring about innovations in theological thought. Even in reading the Byzantine Cyparissiotēs, who actually adopted the Western Scholastic method of exegesis, we see that his use of Maximos did not serve as a basis for any new departures in theological thought.

In the West, on the other hand, it would appear that Maximos' *Ambigua* and the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* were translated only by Erigena and that the West's knowledge of these works derives exclusively from Erigena's faulty translation. Of the many other works of Maximos, possibly aside from a few small anti-Monothelite tracts in connection with his appearance at the Lateran Council of 649, it seems that before Cyparissiotēs (who, it is believed, wrote his chief work at the papal court)⁵⁶ and Balbus, no other works of Maximos were known to the Western Middle Ages, except for the not very influential twelfth-century translation of his *De Caritate* by the monk Cerbanus,⁵⁷ and of course his celebrated scholia on Dionysius' four mystical works, translated by Anastasius (and later by Grosseteste). Nonetheless, it may be said that through these scholia Maximos was primarily responsible for fixing definitely in the West the Catholic interpretation of Dionysius. And the use of these scholia as the indispensable interpretation of Dionysius' mystical theology probably helped in no small measure to inspire not only Erigena but such synthetic thinkers as Hugo of St. Victor, presumably Cusanus, and possibly Ficino,⁵⁸ to shape their ideas into new patterns of thought. Generalizations have too easily been made about the extent of Maximos' influence in the East, and even more in the West, often with too little qualification. I hope that the results of the research presented here may help to bring about a further clarification of this question, especially with regard to the continuity of the process of transmission.

Ordeal by Fire and Judicial Duel at Byzantine
Nicaea (1253):
Western or Eastern Legal Influence?

Trials by ordeal of fire and judicial duel were common methods of "proving" innocence or guilt in the Latin West during the Middle Ages. In the Byzantine East, however, where the principles of Roman law still prevailed, such practices should presumably have been unknown, or at least not resorted to. It is therefore extraordinary to find the ordeal by fire and judicial combat elaborately mentioned at the trial for treason of the Byzantine noble, Michael Palaeologus, at Nicaea in the year 1253.

Michael Palaeologus, subsequently Byzantine emperor and restorer of Constantinople to the Greeks (1261-82), as a young man of twenty-one, was accused on hearsay evidence of plotting against the throne. Taken before his sovereign, John Vatatzes, emperor of Nicaea (one of the Greek "successor" states after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204),¹ he was ordered, rather than undergoing a regular trial, to prove his innocence by submission to the ordeals of fire and combat. It is with the origins of these two barbaric practices and the reason for their remarkable appearance on this occasion that this investigation is concerned.

That the ordeal by fire was not a native Byzantine institution seems clear from the remarks of even the contemporary Greek historians who discuss this trial. According to George Acropolites, when Palaeologus cleverly insisted that he would undergo the ordeal only if the Metropolitan Phocas would first grasp the hot iron in his own hands and then pass it on to him, that worthy prelate, judiciously declining the honor, said: "This is not a part of our Roman institutions or even of our ecclesiastical tradition, or of our laws, or received earlier from our divine and holy [ecclesiastical] canons. The practice is barbarous and unknown to us and invoked only by im-

perial command."² George Sphrantzes, writing later in the fifteenth century about this recourse to the ordeal, puts practically the same words into the mouth of the bishop (patriarch?) Arsenius (whom he mistakenly cites as being present): "There is no law or custom among the Romans and wise Greeks to torture those on trial and especially the nobles in this way, but the practice is barbaric and inappropriate and the law is heathen."³ Similar is the testimony of Demetrius Chomatianos, the noted Greek bishop and canonist living in Ochrida (in Byzantine Bulgaria) in the early thirteenth century: "It is entirely unknown not only to ecclesiastical but also to civil practice. Why? First because it has come from a barbarian people, and second because it is not looked upon with a good eye. . . . [It is] barbaric and foreign to our observances and holy canons."⁴ From the testimony of all these writers it is obvious that the practice was not indigenous to the Byzantines but seems to have been imported from elsewhere—but where?

The origin of the Byzantine use of this ordeal has been attributed to three peoples. The first theory holds that it came from the ancient Greeks, a view championed by the modern Greek Byzantinist, P. Koukoules.⁵ He cites verses from the *Antigone* of the ancient tragic poet Sophocles, which mention such an ordeal by fire: "And we were ready to take bars of hot iron in our hands / and to walk through fire and to call the Gods to witness."⁶ But this evidence seems far from conclusive when one recalls that much more than a millennium had intervened between the composition of the *Antigone* and the date of this trial. Moreover, in this long interval it is difficult to discover other instances of the ordeal by fire in Byzantine sources.⁷ As additional proof of his theory, Koukoules cites the *modern* Greek expression, "I will walk on hot coals if it is not so."⁸ Furthermore, Koukoules makes no attempt to explain away the statements, cited above, of Chomatianos and the Greek historians. More to the point, as Koukoules himself suggests, even if the practice had actually been carried down from the ancient Greeks, it is very questionable that the Byzantines would have referred to the ancient Greeks as *barbaroi*, as they did in the texts in question. *Hellenes*, the term normally used by the Byzantines to refer to the ancient Greeks, connoted "pagans" (who were learned), but never "barbarians."⁹

A second theory has been advanced by another Greek scholar, Constantine Sathas.¹⁰ He affirms that the practice was derived from Albanians living in Macedonia and Cyprus, and was brought to

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The Byzantine Empire in 1265, shortly after Michael VIII's recovery of Constantinople from the Latins. From *Shepherd's Historical Atlas*, 9th ed., map no. 89 (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

Nicaea by the emperor John Vatatzes, himself an Albanian.¹¹ Unfortunately, this entire thesis is suspect because Sathas has failed even to demonstrate the Albanian ancestry of Vatatzes. That emperor, it appears, was actually born in Didymotichon, Thrace, in 1201, a date much too early for the migrations of the Albanians to those areas.¹² But then, Sathas, a patriotic nineteenth-century Greek with more than a trace of anti-Latin animus, and a much better philologist than historian, was notorious for making wild statements, especially regarding Albanian-Greek relations.¹³

Nonetheless, Sathas is the only scholar who attempts to explain several strange phrases uttered by Michael Palaeologus at the time of his trial, when he said to the judges: "I really am not the type to perform miracles. . . . If a red-hot iron should touch the hand of a living man, I do not see how he could escape being burned, unless he be carved from stone by Phidias or Praxiteles, or fashioned from bronze."¹⁴ A classical scholar reading this passage might believe mention of the two ancient sculptors to be merely one more example of Byzantine fondness for display of classical knowledge, either on the part of Michael or the historian of the event, Acropolites. According to Sathas, however, Michael was simply recalling a popular Byzantine tradition that viewed Phidias and Praxiteles as supernatural beings made of marble and bronze, who could undergo without danger the most awful trials and ordeals.¹⁵ The roots of this story, according to Sathas, lie in Phidias' acquittal from Athenian charges of calumny made on the grounds that he had engraved his name and that of Pericles on the base of his chryselephantine statue of Athena. Popular Byzantine belief transformed the acquitted Phidias, along with Praxiteles, into a philosopher (!), and finally into a magician capable of holding in his hands masses of red-hot iron without suffering injury. A somewhat similar story, according to Sathas, was current in medieval Rome, where, however, the two sculptors were portrayed as nude philosophers. This is attested by the famous *Mirabilia Romae*, written anonymously in Rome about 1200.¹⁶ It is tempting to accept this remarkable explanation of Michael's allusion to the celebrated sculptors. However, since Sathas offers no confirmation whatsoever for the story, and since there seems to be no other evidence in the Byzantine sources to corroborate it, the existence of the legend in Byzantium must be considered as something less than established fact.¹⁷

The third theory is that the ordeal by fire was derived from the

Latins, among whom it was known as *ferri candentis judicium*.¹⁸ Among those who have supported this view are H. C. Lea, who states that the practice became "partially domesticated" among the Greeks, probably as a result of the Latin domination of Constantinople.¹⁹ A. Gardner, a modern historian of Nicaea, writes, "There is no doubt that in its developed form this ordeal was introduced from the West and was despised on the same ground as other Western institutions."²⁰ L. Bréhier, the scholar of Byzantine institutions, remarks more inclusively that it was "empruntée à l'occident et aux peuples barbares voisins de Byzance."²¹ Z. von Lingenthal, in his old but celebrated work on Byzantine law, notes that Western influence was very strong during this period in Nicaea.²² Even the leading Greek specialist on the history of Nicaea, A. Miliarakis, upholds the view of Latin provenience.²³ The French legal historian G. Mortreuil, however, who rejects Western influence on Byzantine law, is silent on this particular matter.²⁴ Although these scholars in the main agree, then, on a Latin origin, few have attempted to define its mode of transmission to Nicaea, and those who have, have not done so conclusively. All, it seems, have assumed such a transference almost exclusively on the grounds of the mere similarity existing between this Byzantine practice and that of the Latin West.

One modern scholar, the Hungarian G. Czebe, while supporting the theory of Latin provenience, offers an interesting new theory for a definite mode of transmission.²⁵ His thesis is that the practice was borrowed by the Byzantines—Nicaea specifically—from the Frankish law code, the Assizes of Jerusalem, via Cyprus, where an anonymous writer of the twelfth century had translated the Assizes into vulgar Greek,²⁶ and whence the code was disseminated to parts of the Greek East. According to him, the term *jouisse* or *joi* (ordeal of fire) of the Assizes of Jerusalem, is to be found in the vulgar Greek version, transliterated as *zouis*.²⁷ This, of course, at once poses the question as to why Acropolites, Pachymeres, and Sphrantzes did not utilize this Greek expression in their accounts. Czebe's reply is that they, like almost all Byzantine writers of the period, were purists and thus preferred the more classical Greek terms: for example, Pachymeres, *mydron*;²⁸ Acropolites, *he dia mydrou apodeixis*;²⁹ Sphrantzes, *sideron en te flogi*.³⁰ Czebe, moreover, points out that centuries before, Sophocles in his *Antigone*, verse 264, had employed exactly the same expression as Pachymeres, *mydrous*.³¹

Although Czebe's thesis of Cyprus as the ordeal's channel of trans-

mission seems credible at first glance, it is based on several false premises. Unduly stressing the importance of the written word, he implies that it was the translation of the Jerusalem Assizes into Cypriot Greek which made possible the transmission of the Latin practice to Byzantine Nicaea. Evidently, he had overlooked the fact that different peoples, even if ignorant of or imperfectly acquainted with one another's languages, can sometimes borrow practices from each other, provided that there is some sort of prolonged contact between them. The mere sight of such striking practices as the Latin ordeals by fire or combat may very well have been sufficient to fix either one in the mind of an inquisitive, intelligent Byzantine. As proof, one may cite the case of Anna Commena, who, in her famous *Alexiad*, described her impressions of the Latin judicial duel, which she saw for the first time during the passage of the Western knights of the First Crusade through Constantinople (1096).³² So far as is known, she had little, if any, knowledge of French or Latin.

Furthermore, the fact that the contemporary Greek historians did not employ the Frankish-Cypriot terms (*jouisse*, *joi*) need not necessarily demonstrate, as Czebe states, that it was merely their purism which made them disregard these words. On the contrary, their silence may just as easily indicate ignorance of the terms. Finally, Czebe has neglected to demonstrate what should be an essential part of his proof, namely, the existence of close cultural connections between Cyprus and Nicaea. Indeed, it is difficult to find more than very few evidences of contact between the two states at this time.^{32a} Besides the fact that they were not on particularly friendly terms, another reason may be the considerable distance between them, and especially the difficulty of communications, which involved a relatively long sea route or the traversing of enemy Turkish or Mongol territory.

It seems, therefore, that if we are to attribute to the Latins the origin in Nicaea of the use of the ordeal by fire, we must seek another channel of transmission. The strong possibility, of course, should not be overlooked that the Nicene Byzantines had already learned of this kind of ordeal from those Latins who passed through Constantinople during the period of the Comneni and Angeli (circa 1095-1204).³³ At that time, that is during the first four Crusades, relations between the two peoples had grown more and more frequent, especially during the Latin occupation of Constantinople. Since, apparently, no specific documentary evidence has been found of Byzantine adop-

tion of such an institution at that time, we will confine our analysis to the Nicene period (1204–61), in which the event under discussion occurred.

A hypothesis which obviates the objections to Czebe's thesis and which has the added merit of simplicity, is that the Nicaenes learned of this ordeal from the Latins residing in Nicaea itself. We know that the ordeal by fire was practiced in Latin Constantinople (1204–61), since it is described in the Assizes of Romania, a law code based on the Assizes of Jerusalem, and which was adopted by the Latin rulers of Constantinople in 1204 at the time of the capital's conquest.³⁴ The fact that the Assizes of Romania were written in Old French, a language alien to Nicaea, may have at first been a hindrance to any possible transmission; but to reiterate, when institutions continue to be practiced and cultural contacts are frequent, it is possible for practices to be transmitted regardless of linguistic considerations.

The relations between Nicaea and Latin Constantinople, situated only about eighty miles apart with the Bosphorus between, afforded excellent opportunity for contact, despite their usual enmity. John Vatatzes, the Nicene emperor, for example, had seized important territories such as Adrianople and Gallipoli, which had belonged to the Latins for some twenty-five years and in which Latin institutions had doubtless been practiced. Moreover, his wife's sister, Eudocia, was married to Ansel de Cayeux, a Latin noble of Constantinople,³⁵ and he himself had married Anne, the daughter of the Western emperor Frederick II,³⁶ from whose entourage he could easily have learned of the practice. Most important, a number of Latins were living in Nicaea itself, employed either as mercenaries or as part of the imperial guard. Acropolites, in fact, mentions the presence at this very trial of certain Latins "who were eager to see Palaeologus acquitted."³⁷ Doubtless they belonged to the mercenary Latin contingent of the Nicene army, over which Michael himself held the rank of Grand Constable, a title derived from the Normans of Sicily. Such Latin troops had often fought for Greek rulers against their fellow Latins of Constantinople and had even been excommunicated by the papacy for aiding the "schismatic" Greeks.³⁸ According to Pachymeres, Palaeologus himself was commander of these Latin troops,³⁹ and in that capacity must have often observed them carrying on Western practices. More examples could be cited, but these seem sufficient to indicate that relations between the two capitals, despite the wars often raging between them, were close, and further-

more, that the Nicens had to look no farther than their own city to observe Latin practices.⁴⁰

It remains now to discuss not only the first appearance of these two institutions of the ordeal among the Byzantines but, more especially, the reasons for their use at this particular trial of Michael Palaeologus. On the basis of another passage in Pachymeres, we learn specifically that the ordeal by fire first appeared in Nicaea during the reign of Vatatzes (1222–54) and that under him it became fairly common. According to Pachymeres' description, the Greek practice was similar to the Latin.⁴¹ As for the judicial duel, the first mention of it in Byzantine sources seems to be in Anna Comnena, who called it *polemos* and wrote that it was "a Latin institution hitherto unknown to the Greeks."⁴² (The Latin-style tournaments introduced to Constantinople by the Byzantine emperor Manuel I [1143–80] are not, of course, to be confused with the judicial duel).⁴³ It is only with the trial of Palaeologus, however, that we apparently have the first reference to its actual use by Byzantines. Indeed, from the beginning of the twelfth century and the work of Anna Comnena up to 1253, the date of this trial, the Byzantine sources seem to be silent regarding the duel. It must be noted, nevertheless, that such an argument *ex silentio* does not necessarily mean that it had never hitherto been employed, or even that its first appearance was subsequent to that of the ordeal by fire. Despite the growing Greco-Latin ill-feeling, it is not at all impossible that one or even both practices had been utilized during the Comnenan-Angelid period, when Greco-Latin relations had become increasingly close, but that no record has remained of their use.

If it be admitted that both institutions were already known to the Nicens at the time of this trial, how can we explain the preference of the emperor John Vatatzes (who prided himself on his "Roman" legal heritage) for Palaeologus' submission to ordeal by fire instead of a duel? Why, furthermore, did Palaeologus refuse the ordeal by fire and, rather, suggest judicial combat? Above all, why did Vatatzes invoke practices so fundamentally alien to Byzantine judicial procedure in the first place?

To begin with, Vatatzes must have realized that, since Palaeologus faced no formal charge but only a vague accusation of treason based on hearsay evidence, it would be difficult to bring him to trial under the procedures of Roman law.⁴⁴ The unilateral form of the ordeal by fire would be more appropriate in this case, where an accuser was (apparently) lacking to oppose Michael in a judicial duel. Further-

more, according to Acropolites, Vatatzes, already personally suspicious of Palaeologus, hoped for his conviction, or at least humiliation.⁴⁵ Moreover, it may be assumed that, among the Greeks, as was certainly the case among the Latins, it was considered something of a stigma for a noble to undergo the ordeal by fire. As is well-known, the Latins of the West regarded the judicial duel as more proper for members of the nobility, and this attitude may well have been reflected among those Nicenes who were familiar with the practice.⁴⁶

Palaeologus, therefore, well-educated and doubtless acquainted with at least the principles of Roman law, refused to submit to the ordeal by fire despite Vatatzes' insistence. As he declared proudly, "Since I am a Roman, born of Romans, I should be tried according to Roman law and written traditions."⁴⁷ Finally, it was Palaeologus himself who suggested that he submit to trial by duel.⁴⁸ In this way (since an opponent would presumably be provided), he would at least have a "fighting chance" and could avoid public humiliation.

Omitting other more irrelevant details of the trial, it need only be said that Vatatzes, "influenced by the prevailing sentiment in favor of Palaeologus" (to quote Acropolites), finally canceled the inquest and released his prisoner.⁴⁹

To demonstrate conclusively the connection between the Byzantine judicial duel and its Latin prototype, we may further point out certain similarities existing between the practice as recounted in Acropolites and that described in the work of the contemporary Latin writer of Jerusalem, John d'Ibelin. The latter provides a very good description of the Latin trial by judicial combat as practiced in contemporary Frankish Syria.⁵⁰ In both Nicaea and Syria the protagonists dueled on horseback;⁵¹ in both places, death was the penalty for the defeated;⁵² and both prescribed that the duel should be fought only at the command of the sovereign.⁵³

Finally, from a curious but overlooked passage in Pachymeres,⁵⁴ who notes that in Vatatzes' reign in Nicaea it was not unusual for an accused person to prove his innocence by undergoing the ordeal of red-hot iron, we might point out resemblances between the Latin ordeal by fire and the Nicene practice. In both cases the victim was expected to fast before the ordeal; his hand had to be purified; and on the day of the trial he would grasp the hot iron (called "the holy one" in Pachymeres) in his hands, and walk three times around a table. Obviously, the Greek and Latin rituals in this ordeal were strikingly similar.

In view of the above analysis, it may be stated in summary that the origins of both the ordeal by fire and the judicial duel, as they appear at this trial of Michael Palaeologus, can safely be traced to Latin influence—if not to that transmitted previous to 1204, certainly to that exerted during the reign of Vatatzes in Nicaea. More significant even than the knowledge of the particular institutions transmitted, is the light this knowledge casts on Greco-Latin relations in the later Middle Ages. For this study reveals that, despite increasing religio-political differences and popular antipathies—even sharp hostility—separating the two peoples, a certain cultural interchange was at work between them. More particularly, this instance provides us with a specific example of cultural transmission from Latins to Greeks (even though it had no lasting significance), a fact of special interest because most scholars casually assume that such influences always flowed in the other direction.

A Greek Libellus against Religious Union with Rome after the Council of Lyons (1274)

In the four centuries after 1054, the generally accepted date of the schism between the Byzantine and Latin churches, two attempts were made, in general council, to unite them. The first occurred at the Council of Lyons in 1274 and the second at that of Florence in 1438-39. At both councils religious union was officially proclaimed, but in each case it turned out to be ephemeral; for the motives of the protagonists, emperors as well as popes, were inspired far less by purely religious considerations than by the political or ecclesiastical advantages to be gained. Thus, on the Byzantine side, Emperor Michael Palaeologus at Lyons was motivated toward union primarily by fear of a new Latin invasion on the part of the king of Sicily, Charles of Anjou, whose vaulting ambition extended to Constantinople. And later, the underlying aim of John VIII Palaeologus at Florence was, through union, to secure political and military aid from the popes to ward off the now extremely grave threat of the Turks to his empire. On the Western side, at Lyons as well as Florence, both Pope Gregory X and his later successor Eugenius IV were, more than anything else, inspired by a desire, through union, to secure the jurisdictional and theological subordination of the Greek church to Rome.

Much has been written about both councils, about their proceedings, and in particular about the dogmatic and ecclesiastical points at issue: the double procession of the Holy Ghost (that is, the celebrated filioque question), the doctrine of purgatory, the crucial problem of papal claims to supremacy over the Greek church, and various liturgical disputes regarding the *azymes* (use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist) and the *epiklesis* (involving the question of invocation of the Holy Spirit as the precise moment at which the miracle of "transubstantiation" takes place in the liturgy). Nonetheless, despite the publication of numerous studies of a

theological or historical nature that primarily reflect the views of the high clergy and the upper classes, little information has hitherto been available on attitudes prevalent on the less enlightened level of the common people, that is, on popular beliefs and popular piety. This is particularly true regarding the Council of Lyons and its aftermath.¹

It is the purpose of this chapter, at least in part, to elucidate some such attitudes of the masses, as well as of the more learned class, by discussing a document containing the text of a colloquy that probably took place shortly after the convocation of the Council of Lyons, namely, during the turmoil in Constantinople attendant upon attempts of Emperor Michael Palaeologus to force ecclesiastical union upon the bitterly recalcitrant Byzantine populace. For, after the signing of union at Lyons by Michael's chief ambassador, the layman George Acropolites (who was accompanied by a former patriarch, the incumbent one being opposed to union!), sentiment against union became so vocal—indeed so violent—in Constantinople that Michael was constrained to issue orders that anyone overtly or even covertly opposing union—for example, by secretly circulating or even reading propagandistic tracts against it—would be subject to the death penalty.²

The following document is a striking example of one such *libellus*³ directed not only against the Latins but, even more, against the emperor and his followers (including, probably, the new unionist patriarch, John Bekkos). Not everything recorded should be taken literally, of course, for some of the Greek accusations against the Latins expressed here are clearly erroneous or exaggerated. Moreover, in order to emphasize his points the more strongly, the anonymous Greek writer utilizes against the Latins not only invective but in places satire as well. Finally, the point should be made that the Greek text of the document contains numerous grammatical errors and strange forms, a fact which sometimes makes it very difficult to understand.

The document falls into two parts, the first having as its subject the mysteries of the visible and invisible world, and the second, the mysteries of the visible and invisible world, and the second, various errors imputed to the Latins by the Greeks. It is to be noted that in both parts of the colloquy the role of the Latin protagonist is simply to pose questions to the Greek protagonist and thus to provide a pretext for the latter to inveigh against the "falsity" of Latin religious beliefs and practices.

The document begins with a statement regarding the appearance in Constantinople during the reign of Michael, the patriarchate of Arsenios and the consulate of Euphrosinus,⁴ of a certain John who, as the text reads, "came from the Pope with a mule bridled." This John is no doubt meant to be identified with the famous prounionist Byzantine Franciscan, John Parastron, well known at the time for his conciliatory attitudes and actions, and in particular for acting as go-between for the pope and emperor in the long unionist negotiations.⁵ That the author of the tract was indeed a Greek antiunionist, is clear from the rather snide remark made to the effect that John appeared "with a bridled mule on which there was a basket enclosing an image of the pope" and that also present was Bekkos, the prounionist patriarch. Notably, Bekkos is described here as wearing, in Latin style, "the mitre and with a ring on his finger" which, as the text reads, "is the sign of the pope."⁶

In the next sentence the emperor Michael is depicted as emerging from the imperial palace while holding the bridle of the papal mule and with six cardinals standing on either side of him. The simultaneous appearance in Constantinople of no less than a dozen cardinals is, of course, highly unlikely. But what is really important is the intended meaning of this scene. The emperor is portrayed here as performing before the pope (or rather before his image, which is set in the back of the basket on the mule!) the subservient Western act of *stratordienst*, in apparent imitation of the Western emperor's holding of the bridle of the papal mule as the pope rode down the street in the manner of Christ and the Apostles entering Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. Here, Michael's performance is deftly described in ironic terms in order to make the emperor appear ridiculous before his Greek subjects. One may recall the famous scene in St. Mark's Square involving the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Hadrian, and an episode in the earlier career of Michael Palaeologus himself, when, before he became emperor, he purposely held the bridle of the mule of the newly elected patriarch Arsenios in order to flatter that prelate and thus to render easier his subsequent usurpation of the throne.⁷

The document continues that "the Emperor, making obeisance before the image of the pope, affirmed, 'Long live my lord the Pope,' after which the Cardinal blessed Michael and his son." Thereupon, Michael, followed by the cardinals, entered the palace, where he had the pope's name inserted into the diptychs, that is, the tablets from

which the names of those commemorated at Eucharist were read publicly (an act signifying communion between the churches). Any possible doubt as to bias on the part of the anonymous author is completely dissipated by the statement he attributes here to the cardinals, that "the Pope has sent us to your Majesty so that all Christians may partake of the communion of the unleavened bread," after which the *libellus* adds, "which is of course a heresy"—a phrase referring to the much disputed liturgical question of the *azyma*.⁸ The author then lists the Byzantines who partook of this Latin form of the eucharistic sacrament, including such historically authentic, prounionist figures as the logothete Theodore Muzalon, his father-in-law John Papyas (the "beardless one"), Meletios, Gennadios, and Maleas the Protopapas. All or most of these are mentioned in Pachymeres' famous history of Michael's reign and are here referred to as "[men] of bad conscience."⁹

To dramatize the anti-Orthodox feeling of the Greek people, a basic aim of the document, the author now introduces the "champion of the Christian [Orthodox] people, [Manuel] Holobolos," the famous monk and the head and *rhetor* of the Patriarchal School in Constantinople, whose pupils are here said to number 336¹⁰ (the digits three and six are very likely of biblical significance). More intriguing, however, is the treatise's statement, probably symbolic, that Holobolos and his students had "preserved unblemished their foreskin."¹¹ This curious phrase may perhaps be explained as representing their manhood in the sense of their preservation of the "purity" of the Orthodox faith, as opposed to the supposed impurity of those Greeks who had accepted the *azyma*, the *filioque*, and religious union with Rome in general. The phrase, on the other hand, may also imply that the ardent Orthodox Holobolos and his followers had rejected the "Judaizing" practice of circumcision. As is well known, the Latin use of unleavened (*azyma*) instead of leavened bread in the Eucharist was condemned by the Greeks (among other reasons) as being a Jewish practice.¹² (Incidentally, when in 1054 the Latin *azyma* had first officially been condemned by Patriarch Michael Cerularius, the practice of unleavened bread on the part of the Armenians was at the same time also attacked by the mystical theologian, Nicetas Stethatus on the grounds of "Judaizing.")

Now introduced is the chief protagonist of the colloquy, Constantine, here called Panagiotes, probably a fictitious name, who represents and articulates the Orthodox point of view toward Latin

beliefs, especially of the common people. The name Panagiotes derives from *Panagia* (the all-holy Virgin), and in this context may be a suggestive allusion to *Panagiotatos*. The term "Panagiotatos," of course, is that normally applied to the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. Here "Panagiotes" is probably to be taken as symbolic of the defenders of Orthodoxy against the *kainotomias*, that is, the innovations (as the Orthodox would say) of the Latin church. Thus, Panagiotes is here presented as the pious Greek champion who, in the ensuing debate, expresses the views cherished for centuries by the Orthodox populace. It is interesting to note that before the colloquy begins, Michael (the treatise reads) had warned Constantine not to engage in discussion with any of the Latin representatives until the emperor could be present. The heart of the discussion, in any event, consists of the debate which now transpires publicly between the Greek bishop, Constantine Panagiotes, and the unnamed leader of the Roman group of cardinals, here contemptuously termed, besides "Cardinal" and "the Frank" [Latin], "Azymita" (azymite), that is, "partaker of unleavened bread." Clearly, by 1274 the term "azymite" had become highly significant in the Byzantine mind as connoting one with Latin or "Latinizing" views.¹³

After some initial skirmishing, doubtless embodying certain popular beliefs which perhaps derive from apocryphal versions of stories in the Old and New Testaments, the cardinal inquires of Panagiotes, "How many natures [in Christ] do you accept?" The Greek counters soundly with: "Do you mean before or after the Incarnation?" After the Greek has expressed the traditional Orthodox view of the divine and human natures in Christ and the three hypostases of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the Trinity ("three in one, and one in three, one substance"), he stresses the incorruptibility of the Divinity. To illustrate this teaching he quotes from David (whom he calls "the Prophet"),¹⁴ "And he poured out of the one into the other even to the dregs, but still the sediment was not poured out."¹⁵ Reflected here, probably, is the Eastern emphasis on the ineffable divine essence of Christ, in that, even in his act of sacrifice in emptying himself to redeem humanity, Christ still maintained his divine essence intact.

After several remarks concerning the relationship of the persons of the Trinity, including brief mention of the problem of the procession of the Holy Spirit, the cardinal says: "I ask you. Does dry weather cause the river to become lower and the river to have no

passage?"¹⁶ Panagiotes, on his part, seems to have taken this curious remark to be an allegorical reference to the miraculous conception and incarnation of Christ, which, according to Eastern and Western belief, did not affect Mary's ever-virginal state, even while Christ was issuing from her womb.¹⁷ Thus the Panagiotes answers: "Weather without rain is like my Super-holy Theotokos [who did not need impregnation] and the river lacking a channel [a passage] is Christ, whose Divinity man cannot comprehend."¹⁸

After a further exchange of this rather mystifying kind of repartee, the cardinal touches on the difficult question of the fate of the soul after death, asking, "Where are the souls of the just men?" Panagiotes replies, "In Paradise, those of the sinners in Hell," quite possibly an allusion, in the dichotomy expressed, to the Greek belief in heaven and hell, though not in the Latin doctrine of purgatory.

After an exchange on the repose of the souls in paradise, "like doves," and the souls of sinners in hell, "like tortoises,"¹⁹ the cardinal begins a fascinating discussion on the structure of heaven, that is, on the cosmography of the universe. This is once again of special astronomical, even of astrological, interest because it probably reflects popular Byzantine conceptions of the cosmos at the time. The Latin first asks the Greek how many heavens there are, to which the (unchristian) answer is: "One uniform heaven in the shape of a sphere like a copper hammer and like ice."²⁰ When the cardinal asks what is above heaven, the Greek's answer is, "Water, and above it darkness and fire, and above them an ark, and still higher a throne, and above the throne, the Divinity, and above that, the Everlasting Light"—(shades of the Apocalypse or, in view of the seven levels mentioned, of the common ancient and medieval Christian tradition about "seven heavens").

At this juncture the Latin, again contemptuously referred to by the author as the "Azymite," inquires, "What is below heaven?" to which the reply is, "Air, ether, and clouds." To the query "What is below the earth?" Panagiotes affirms, "Water, and underneath the water, darkness, and underneath it fire, and below, Hades, and beneath that Erebus [a mythical pagan Greek land of everlasting darkness between Earth and Hades] and then Tartarus which the sinners deserve."²¹ These curious references, some of which, to be sure, are found in the Fathers and Revelation, may also be carry-overs from pre-Christian pagan times or conceivably taken from such later Byzantine, semipopular lore as Cosmas Indicopleustes.²²

After a further exchange, the Latin inquires: "Are the stars in the sky odd or even?" Replies the Greek, shrewdly, "If they were twice as many their number would be even because now it is odd." The cardinal asks, "How many are the battalions of the angels?" Panagiotes: "There are ten angels' battalions, each with twelve legions, each legion with twelve thousand. Of these, 144 thousand were lost, became demons, and there remained nine divisions: the Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, the many-eyed beings, the Seraphim, and of six-winged, the Cherubim. And there remained 1,106 good angels. The heaven is 946 feet from the earth but the span of Christ is equal to 1,000 human spans."²³

The source or inspiration for many of these strange numbers and figures would seem ultimately to be the Apocalypse of St. John, although mystical views of Pseudo-Dionysius and Nicetas Stethatus (of the mid-eleventh century) may also be reflected here. Nevertheless, one cannot escape the feeling that the Byzantine ecclesiastical protagonist, in as serious a manner as he can summon, is at the same time not so subtly trying to ridicule the Latins and their Greek supporters, by playing with numbers in imitation of the Scholastic manner, which was then, of course, the prevailing philosophic method in the West.²⁴

At this point parts of the dialogue become particularly obscure in meaning—a circumstance perhaps owing to the fact that the bases for some of the opinions expressed are probably to be found in apocryphal sources known only to Byzantine popular tradition and which may now even be lost. In one place Panagiotes says: "Mankind will be judged and divided into nine battalions: i.e. kings, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, priests, sub-deacons, deacons, readers, and [note this especially] all the Christian people [probably laymen]." This remarkable division of Christian society after the Last Judgment is somewhat reminiscent of the division of the heavenly host and the earthly ecclesiastical hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite—recall his *Celestial Hierarchy* and *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*—but especially of the work of the Byzantine Nicetas Stethatus who, in his mystical *Contemplation of Paradise*, emphasizes the number nine (three triads).²⁵

Other examples of popular views of church teachings may be noted in the text, as when Panagiotes, in response to a question of the Latin, remarks that God created heaven *before* he created earth. (One recalls here, of course, the Old Testament statement: "In the beginning God created the heaven *and* the earth.") To strengthen the

reference implied here to the concept of time, the Greek prelate cites Chrysostom, that "every builder must first construct the foundation, then cover it, but God first covered [the world with the roof of heaven] and then created the foundation [earth]. . . . Heaven [the roof, that is] must be larger than the earth so that the earth may not be damaged."²⁶

Many more ideas are now expressed by the Greek—and since it is a Greek document Greek ideas are obviously far more prominent than Western—one being that paradise is fourfold,²⁷ and that "near paradise there exists a place *between* mortality and immortality." Is this possibly an oblique reference to a kind of limbo (like the Latin purgatory) after death and before the Last Judgment (the Greek church does not accept a purgatory) or, possibly, of the kind of paradise first experienced by Adam in the Garden of Eden? The passage that follows sounds like a mingling of phrases from expressions of St. Paul, especially of the first several chapters of Genesis, and of Nicetas Stethatus' *Contemplation of Paradise*. In further describing paradise, Panagiotes speaks of red water in the sea and an even line of mountains. Mentioned also *in extenso* is the Tree of Life, so prominently described in Genesis and the Apocalypse.²⁸ But here the speaker may have confused or conflated material taken from other treatises as well (e.g. that of Nicetas Stethatus), which discuss, besides the paradise tree of Genesis, two fountains at the roots of a tree covering paradise and containing all manner of plants, but with trees excluded. One of these fountains flows with milk and honey (a phrase obviously taken from the Promised Land passage in the Old Testament); the other is the spring from which four rivers emerge—Pishon, Gihon, the Tigris, and the Euphrates (the latter phrase is directly taken from Genesis).²⁹

In a subsequent passage, the Byzantine, responding to a query of the cardinal, replies that thunder and lightning are "the sound of your [God's] thunder in the whirlwind."³⁰ Discussing the four images of man (a phrase taken from the Apocalypse of St. John)³¹—an eagle, a bull, a lion, and a man—as the four Evangelists, Panagiotes cites Jeremiah (a mistake, apparently, for Ezekiel, 10: 14): "The eagle sings, the bull snorts, the lion roars, and man speaks." Then, fascinatingly, the dialogue takes a more intellectual (or pseudo-scientific) turn when the Greek asserts that, according to philosophy (is this perhaps from the pre-Socratics, Aristotle, or possibly Archimedes?), "when two clouds collide and attack each other, two winds come out

of them, one cold, the other warm, with a noise produced from their collision."³² Unexpectedly, Panagiotes then quotes the ancient Greek Hermogenes ("the rhetor of rhetors," as he calls him here), saying, "When the water of Heaven falls down from a place and the water collides, a noise is produced."³³ Interestingly enough, this may be the first, or one of the very first, references to the name of Hermogenes to appear in connection with Westerners in the medieval period.

Then, perhaps surprisingly for a fervent ecclesiastic, Panagiotes in the text cites the names of the Greeks Demosthenes and Achilles (Achilles Tatios, the Alexandrian?), affirming that "three hundred angels hold up the sky with twelve columns and twelve arches, and three hundred angels hold up the earth with twelve columns and twelve arches."³⁴ He adds (nonbiblically, and rather surprisingly, it would seem) that "it is for this reason that heaven is called twelve-hilled and seven-hilled."³⁵ He continues in this vein for several more statements, relating how, with the collision of the angels with each other, "a great sound is produced, from which collision comes fire, in turn producing lightning."

There follows a rather lengthy passage regarding the sun, which, it is stated, "is divided into three, into flesh in imitation of the incarnation of Christ, into light in imitation of both the flesh [of Christ] and of the Father, and into both rays of the Son and the fire of the Holy Spirit." This description of the sun, and especially the mention of its rays and the Son, is suggestive of the doctrine, later fully developed by the Hesychast Gregory Palamas, concerning the distinction between the essence and the uncreated energies of God, for which the sun and its rays were frequently used as an analogy.³⁶

After a description of how the setting sun delivers its light to Christ, the giver of life, a bit of astronomical or astrological lore is displayed. The Greek declares that the sky revolves three times during the day and three times at night, "round and round like a mill." (One may think here of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*, Plato's *Timaeus*, or, more probably, of popular lay astronomical beliefs of the period.) When the Latin inquires why the sun and moon do not turn with the sky, the Greek replies: "Whatever are suspended from the sky below the clouds are like the candles in the Church and are distant from the sky three hundred of God's feet" (recall that earlier he had said that a divine "foot" equaled a thousand human feet).

Then, again in a curious admixture of pagan, biblical, and Christian lore, Panagiotes, in response to a question of how the sun

risers, relates that "Christ the Son of God gives the crown to the angels, they put it on the sun and it rises, and, at once, two birds called griffins [a pagan mythical creature], of which one is called phoenix, with each other dampen the sun so that the sun may not scorch the earth. And because of the heat of the fire, the feathers of the birds are burnt and only their flesh remains. And again they fly toward the ocean and wash themselves and once more grow feathers. And the cocks imitate these birds and derive their names from these birds. . . . They have blood under their armpits; the blood agitates them and they scratch with their beaks. And as they are irritated by the blood, they awake and, having foreknowledge of the noise made by the birds, by the grace of Christ they make manifest the resurrection of Christ."

This passage, very obscure and not easily interpreted, seems, among other things, to suggest an analogy between the pelican, which, it was believed, feeds its young with its own blood, and Christ, who fed mankind with his own blood and body by being pierced in the side and dying on the cross, and continues to nourish mankind through his blood and body in the Eucharist. (This analogy between the blood of Christ and the pelican is, incidentally, prominently mentioned in the famous "He Zoe en Tafo" of the Holy Friday service of the Orthodox church.)³⁷

In a humorous passage suggesting that the Byzantine is once again ironically imitating Scholastic terminology, the Panagiotes, in response to the Azymite's question, "How many tips does my beard have?" asserts, "Tell me how many roots there are and I will tell you how many they are at the tip." (One may recall by analogy the supposed Scholastic query, "How many angels can stand on the head of a pin?") In the course of another ironic exchange, revealing a strangely humanistic touch, Panagiotes says the Latin knows six of the arts of letters—philosophy, oratory, grammar, Greek (text reads "roman") and Latin, plus (he emphasizes) the teaching of the devil—while he, as a mere student, knows only three: the implication is clear—the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

The disputation now turns to matters of popular devotional and liturgical beliefs. Thus the Greek asks, "Why do the Franks [i.e. the Latins] not call the super-holy Theotokos the Mother of God but Santa Maria, that is, make her *simply a Saint*?" (Is not this, by the way, remarkable evidence that in this period of the later Middle Ages the Byzantines were, still perhaps, greater devotees of Mariol-

ogy than the Latins?)³⁸ The Byzantine continues, "We call her the *super-holy* Theotokos because she bore the King of heaven and earth." Then, turning specifically to liturgical practices, the Orthodox inquires of the Latin, "Why do you not use three fingers to cross yourself from your face down to your breast and your navel, while bearing on yourself the symbol of my Jesus Christ, the sign of the cross,³⁹ but rather you cross yourselves from the opposite side?" This no doubt refers to the Greek practice (still followed) of making the sign of the cross with three fingers of the right hand (the two others being kept closed) and touching the forehead, breast, and shoulders, first the right then the left. In the thirteenth century (evidently *before* composition of this *libellus*), a change had come about in Latin practice, with all fingers instead being joined and extended, and the left shoulder being touched before the right.⁴⁰ In the two practices described here, we may well have concrete evidence of the change that occurred in the Latin practice of making the sign of the cross—a change which has not been well documented.

Then, regarding still another liturgical practice, the Greek inquires why the Latins "do not worship and kiss the holy icons with love and faith but you fall on your knees and, while whispering, make the sign of the cross on the ground with two fingers, kiss the cross, and then [arising] you trample upon it." This may be a popular Greek misconception about certain Latin practices, such as genuflection and possibly even prostration. (Prostration is still practiced in the Roman church during the rite of ordination and also when the cardinals in consistory prostrate themselves before the pope.)

Panagiotes, who by now is doing almost all the talking, further asks why the Latins eat strangled meat⁴¹—a practice already complained of at the time of Patriarch Photius—and why the Latins bleed themselves in a glass (open their veins, that is) "and then you wash it and drink from it." This probably refers to the Latin practice of bleeding themselves as a supposed health measure, and perhaps to an erroneous Greek belief in what they referred to as the Latin "impurity" of placing the blood in a glass after bleeding and then later drinking from the same glass.⁴² As if to prove this accusation of "impurity" of practice, the Greek then accuses the Latins of feeding dogs from their own plates, then washing the dishes and eating from them. This may well refer to the common practice of Western feudal nobility of feeding their dogs under the table by handing down their

plate to them. It is interesting that in a Russian text of the later medieval period, the very same complaint is made—that the Latins eat from the same dishes as their dogs.⁴³

The Greek continues, "Why do you eat hedgehogs, bears, and crows, things abominable and polluted?" To which the cardinal replies, "When Peter got hungry, did not the angel say, 'Get up Peter, slaughter [animals], then eat?' " But the Greek argues back that Peter did not eat defiled things, but rather that these are beliefs. (What all this probably refers to is the passage in Acts in which Peter, in a trance, sees many animals appear and is ordered by God to eat. But when Peter refuses on the grounds that he cannot eat unclean animals, God replies that what He has created and purified is not unclean.)⁴⁴ Then, in line with old Orthodox traditional belief, the Greek accuses the Latin of eating meat and cheese the first day of Lent, "when demons shudder and angels exult and we Christians abstain even from water, whereas you do not fast during the whole of Lent." These remarks again provide evidence of the existence of specific differences in liturgical practices between the two churches, dating from as early as, or earlier than, the thirteenth century—the kind of information one is much less likely to derive from more formal historical sources.

In the course of the discussion, the Byzantine prelate accuses the Latin of not chanting the Hallelujah until Holy Friday,⁴⁵ of walking barefoot in church, and of taking the cross from one corner to another on the grounds that Christ went to Jerusalem and returned⁴⁶ (referred to here, if inaccurately, may be the Latin devotional practice of the stations of the cross). Again the Greek alludes to the practice of Latin women eating cheese, eggs, milk, and butter on the Saturday and Sunday of Lent and abstaining only from meat. (In actual fact, on the plea of grave sickness, a Catholic could eat meat on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday.) Panagiotes further touches on the much disputed problem of the celibacy of the clergy, which he questions, though first citing St. Basil on aspects of celibacy. Then he alludes to Christ's (Paul's?) directions that a virgin boy marry a virgin girl because of the weakness of the flesh. He notes that to the (Greek) church, marriage was considered a "treasure." He then paraphrases the famous biblical words, "Let no man put asunder those whom God has joined together," for the church is heaven on earth." It is for this reason (because the priest is a man, that is), the

Byzantine claims, that the church permits a priest to marry, though the Latins do not.

Then, in perhaps the most strikingly scathing, scurrilous, anti-Latin passage,⁴⁷ which deserves to be quoted at length, Panagiotes affirms that, instead of marriage, Latin priests have recourse to concubinage. In his words, "Instead you have concubines, and your priest sends his servant to bring him his concubine and he puts out the candle and then he 'mounts' (*anerchetai*) her for the whole night. Then he goes out of his cell and asks forgiveness before his fellow priests who do the same, [hypocritically] offering as an excuse, 'Forgive me, my brothers, but I have had an erotic dream (*efantasteka*)'⁴⁸ and he receives pardon. Then he enters into the church to celebrate the liturgy."

In a final passage on the celebration of the liturgy, the Greek remarks that the Latin priest holds the body of Christ—that is, the host—in his belt and breeches (today Catholic priests have a special container for carrying the Eucharist, called, from the Greek word *pyx*, box) and—note the curious juxtaposition of ideas here—he may go to urinate and meet a woman. He thus (according to the Greek) sins in his soul; but the Latin priest then says, "There is no water" (that is, to cleanse himself?). The Greek then remarks that (despite all these transgressions) the Latin priest is not at all hindered from celebrating the liturgy, indeed, from celebrating it many times a day ("five or ten times even") on the same altar. According to Orthodox practice, it should be observed, the liturgy can be performed only once a day by the same priest on the same altar—a fact that does not obtain for the Roman church. Moreover, the occasional Latin practice of a priest celebrating Mass absolutely alone, and the frequent Western medieval abuse of the practice of saying many Masses for the dead, may have served as the basis for some Greek objections.

Panagiotes, in conclusion, notes that the Latin priest, during the liturgy, may go, if he wishes, to satisfy his need: so "removing his robes, he goes to satisfy the needs of the body [though still 'unclean,' the Byzantine implies], whereupon he again enters the church."⁴⁹ This entire curious passage, however grossly exaggerated, very probably reflects certain popular Greek views on the mores of the Latin secular clergy—whom many lower- (and some upper-) class Greeks envisioned as not only very materialistic-minded but, frequently, sexually immoral as well.

The Greek text of the dialogue, in the Vienna manuscript from

which we have been quoting, breaks off at this point. But on the basis of another passage found in a Paris manuscript (this passage is lacking in all the numerous Slavic versions) we are able to complete the Greek text of the colloquy.⁵⁰ Thus, in a kind of epilogue to the piece, the text continues to reveal that Constantine Panagiotes, whose anger and rage at the Latins and—even more—at the emperor and the prounionist Greeks, has been steadily increasing, at the end hurls anathema at the Latin heretics in general, and the Greek “azymites” in particular. (Clearly, it was the use of the *azyma*—after all, it concerned the Eucharist itself—which seemed to him most to symbolize the pro-Latinism of the unionist Greeks.) Whereupon Panagiotes, the staunch defender of Orthodoxy who, with imprecations and curses castigates emperor, patriarch, and cardinals in succession, is now (according to the manuscript) condemned to death. Finally and in conclusion, the anonymous writer of the *libellus* reveals, almost triumphantly, his own pro-Orthodox sentiments by awarding Panagiotes, posthumously, the crown of a martyr.

In order to provide a kind of parallel Latin view of Greek “errors” in religious beliefs and practices, we may briefly cite here a contemporary report of the official papal envoy, the Franciscan Jerome of Ascoli, which he sent to the pope on his way back to the West from Constantinople to attend the Council of Lyons. (Jerome, incidentally, may have been the model for the cardinal in this colloquy.) In this, Jerome affirms, among other things, that the Greeks considered fornication a less serious sin than a third marriage—indeed, for Greeks fornication is not a “mortal” sin—that the Greeks rebaptize Latin converts, and that the Greeks had long opposed the Roman church, since they had already excommunicated the pope and all the Latins at the Council of Nicaea in 325 (!).⁵¹

In summation of the analysis of the Greek *libellus* provided here, it may be said that we have before us a remarkable document—highly biased though it is—a text which, like few others in medieval annals, reveals not only differences in doctrine but especially in beliefs and practices as conceived of in the popular Orthodox mind. Sections of the colloquy concern matters, dogmatic and especially liturgical, that were not formally discussed either at ecumenical or other councils (certainly not at Lyons, where no discussions, officially at least, took place), or about which formal pronouncements were never made by the church. Hence the text is able to give us valuable insight into the religious mentality, mixed with aspects of pseudoscientific lore and

superstition, of the common people as well as the more learned class, although almost exclusively from the Byzantine point of view. The document thus provides us with a deeper awareness of some of the more intangible factors which, in the later Middle Ages, made understanding so difficult between the mass of the Greek and Latin peoples.

The Greeks of the Diaspora: The Italian Renaissance and the Origins of Modern Greek National Consciousness

When, in 1455, Bessarion, the most influential of the Greek scholars who emigrated to Italy as a result of the Turkish threat to and capture of Constantinople, wrote to his protégé Michael Apostolis directing him to collect Greek manuscripts from whatever sources he could, he explained the reasons for his commission as follows:

As long as the common and simple hearth of the Greeks [Constantinople] remained standing I had no concern with gathering [Greek] manuscripts. But when it fell, I conceived a great desire to acquire all these works not so much for myself . . . but for the sake of the Greeks who are left now, as well as for those who may have a better fortune in the future. . . . Otherwise, they [the Greeks] would lose even these few vestiges of those excellent and divine authors which have been saved from what we have lost in the past, and they [the Greeks] would differ in no way from barbarians and slaves.¹

Almost four centuries later, in 1838, a few years after the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, Kolokotronis, one of the heroes of that war (and himself no intellectual), declared in a speech delivered on the Greek mainland:

Many among the Greek scholars who have fled to the West have translated books and sent them to Greece. We owe a great debt of gratitude to these scholars, for as soon as a young man of the people [in Greece] had mastered the elements of reading and could read these books, he realized what kind of ancestors we had and how great were the exploits of Themistocles and Aristides and of the other Greeks, and at the same time he became conscious of the terrible situation under which we were living.

Thus we decided to follow the example of our forefathers in order to be happier [the implication is, to seek to live in freedom].²

The first quotation, penned at the beginning of the Turkish occupation of Byzantine Constantinople, is significant no more for its indication of the contribution made by Greek learning to the Italian Renaissance, important as that is, than for Bessarion's clear implication of the role of ancient Greek culture in enabling future generations of Greeks to maintain, during the period of subjugation, a knowledge of the past heritage and thus a sense of cultural and ethnic identity.

The second quotation, from a speech given almost four hundred years later, soon after the violent birth of modern Greece, seems to bear out the intent of Bessarion's emphasis on education and the role in its preservation played by the diaspora, that is, Greeks living abroad. It is the main theme of this chapter, then, within the four centuries intervening between the two passages quoted (the so-called *Turkokratia*, when a Greek nation as such had completely disappeared), to analyze the activities of the more important Greek communities of the diaspora in the West, concentrating especially on the educated classes, and thus to show how these Greeks in exile helped lead to the emergence of what is often termed the "new national consciousness" of the early nineteenth century. The role of the diaspora Greeks of Russia and the Slavic East is outside the scope of this discussion.

Many modern historians explain the apparently sudden emergence of a strong Greek desire for liberation in the years shortly before 1821 primarily in terms of Enlightenment and French revolutionary influences on Greeks living in such centers as Vienna, Paris, Budapest, and Odessa, and exemplified in the creation of the secret society, the *Philike Hetaireia*.³ At the same time, they may mention a few sporadic Greek revolts that took place in the Morea or Epirus, incited for selfish motives by one or another of the great powers. However valid this approach—and there is certainly something to be said for it—it fails to take into account the contribution of the many Greek communities established outside the Balkans earlier. For especially in the western European communities was preserved a continuous sense of a distinct and proud people with a long tradition, and almost an obsession—not always explicit to be sure—for the re-creation of an independent Greek nation.

Now, to pose the problem of the development of a feeling of nationalism exclusively in terms of a continued interest in the ancient Hellenic culture is an oversimplification. Yet there can be little doubt that what, in the last analysis, made the Greek people feel different from all others was the knowledge of the accomplishments of the ancient Greeks and necessarily, *a priori*, a sense of identification with them as ancestors.

The role of the Orthodox church in preserving the feeling of ethnic identity, or national consciousness, during the Turkish occupation is not to be slighted. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the worst period of domination (the true "Dark Ages" for the Greek homeland), the lower clergy, though in large part barely educated themselves, performed a most valuable service in preserving Orthodoxy against a not inconsiderable number of conversions to Islam and resultant Turkicization.⁴ For among the Greeks of the mainland from the sixteenth to the early seventeenth century, even a simple ability to read and write was, with few exceptions, largely nonexistent. And there it was primarily the church, especially through the local clergy with their sermons and implied or explicit identification of the *genos* with Orthodoxy, that did most to preserve the idea of a national identity.⁵ Yet without disparaging this contribution, we should recognize that the Orthodox church performed much the same service for other Orthodox, the Slavic peoples of the Balkans. These shared the same faith, formulas, and practices, but their liturgy was in Slavonic; and this significant linguistic factor, along with a different medieval historical development, contributed to the Slavic feeling of differentiation from the Greeks.

That the religious factor was, however, not always indispensable to the development of a Greek national consciousness is indicated by the fact that some of the most important diaspora Greek intellectuals during the Renaissance or later became Uniates or, on rare occasions, even Roman-rite Catholics. Yet from their pens came some of the most moving and patriotic appeals for aid in the regeneration of Greece as a nation.⁶

In examining the question of ideologies contributing to the nationalism of modern Greece, it may be argued that, throughout the Turkish occupation, some Greeks, especially in Constantinople, seemed to envision a kind of revival of the old Byzantine, that is, Roman, state. But apparently what they had in mind was not the earlier multinational Byzantine state—in the sixteenth and seven-

teenth centuries this would have been highly unrealistic—but something more akin to an ethnically Greek state united under the Orthodox religion.

The difference between the ideology of restoration of a Greek nation on the ancient model as opposed to one on the Byzantine, though not lacking importance, can perhaps be overemphasized. After all, the basic characteristic of both seems to be the ancient Hellenic cultural tradition, which is reflected also, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Greek Orthodox church. The Phanariots of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ensconced in a position of authority in Constantinople, were, to be sure, often loath to risk damage to their exposed position through overt revolt. Yet it would seem that even they, though envisioning a Greek restoration centering in Constantinople rather than Athens, in the last analysis based their ideology primarily on the Greek cultural legacy reflected in a common language and literature as well as in the Orthodox religion.

It was among the diaspora Greeks, however, where learning was much more common, intensive, and diffused, that the sense of identification with the ancients was most clearly and explicitly realized. And this because, disencumbered of the Turkish oppression, they were able to establish and maintain an educational system which had as its foundation ancient Greek history and learning. In the Renaissance, the exiles' sense of individuation was often heightened by the attitude of Italian humanists, who not only admired their skill in ancient learning but sometimes flattered them as being the progeny of the ancients. As the humanist pope Pius II affirmed upon hearing of Constantinople's fall to the Turks in 1453: "This is the second death of Homer and Plato."⁷

With these briefly drawn considerations in mind, let us now set forth the more meaningful aspects of the history of the main diaspora centers in western Europe.⁸ Thousands of Greeks fled the Turkish occupation of their homelands, coming to the West not only from Constantinople and the Greek mainland, but from the Greek islands and even from threatened, but as yet unconquered, Venetian-held areas of the old Byzantine East. This emigration did not pour into the West at a constant rate but seems to have occurred in spurts. It began almost imperceptibly in the last quarter of the fourteenth century after the initial Ottoman threats to Constantinople, then speeded up considerably in the decades before 1453. We should note the attraction of Italy for Greek intellectuals in particular. The favor-

able reception accorded them at the Council of Florence in 1438-39 afforded an awareness of the professional academic opportunities awaiting them in the wake of the Western revival of interest in Greek studies.⁹ New waves of Greek émigrés flowed westward after the fall of Venetian Negropont in 1470, again with the conquest of Cyprus in 1571, and even as late as 1689, the Turkish conquest of Venetian Crete.

The colonies of this Greek diaspora included virtually all strata of society: scholars and diplomats, printers, merchants and craftsmen, artists, parish priests, laborers, and soldiers or sailors who served in Western armed forces. The further away the émigrés moved, the more, it seems, they tended to become merchants or shopkeepers. Almost none turned to agriculture, although some émigrés had originally been peasant farmers in their homeland. Of course, the fact that many came without funds meant they lacked the capital to buy land. Nevertheless, once arrived in the West, they immediately adapted to an urban life style.

The communities most important for the preservation of the Greek tradition and for the ultimate establishment of a politically independent nation were those of Venice—together with its satellite city Padua—Naples, and Ancona—all in Italy; Toledo and lesser towns in Spain; Lyons and perhaps Paris in France. These colonies were most important during the fifteenth to approximately the early seventeenth centuries, after which there emerged to prominence the newer Greek communities of Trieste, London, Livorno, and especially Budapest, Vienna, and Odessa. The Greek community of Venice, however, still maintained a certain significance even up to the outbreak of the Greek revolution in 1821. Indeed, it may be said that of all the communities active during this long preparatory period, Venice held the primacy. It was the largest, longest-lived, and in general made the greatest contribution to the development of modern Greece.

THE GREEK COMMUNITY OF VENICE

From the earliest medieval centuries individual Byzantines had lived in Venice, a satellite if not a possession of Byzantium, which was thus early influenced by Byzantine culture and, increasingly from the late fifteenth century onward, by ancient Greek civic and intellectual ideals. When Constantinople fell in 1453, many Greeks, especially

the educated ones, found it not difficult to flee to nearby Venetian-held Crete, the most important former Byzantine territory still free of the Turk. There, under an increasingly enlightened Venetian government, they could speak their own language, practice their religion with only sporadic interference, and thus escape the blight of Turkish oppression. From Crete it was an easy step to proceed to Venice, and it was therefore not long before the solid nucleus of a Greek-speaking community had been established in that city.

In 1494 the Greek community of Venice (which called itself the Brotherhood of St. Nicholas), after the filing of a petition, was recognized as a formally organized legal entity by the Venetian Council of Ten. It thus assumed a place, later the chief place, as one of the corporately constituted foreign communities of Venice, others being those of the Slavs, Albanians, and Armenians. Its legal foundation, it seems, was mainly owing to Venetian recognition of the contribution rendered to the Venetian state by the Greek *estradioti*, light horsemen serving in the Venetian military forces who had come primarily from Epirus or Albania.¹⁰ Waxing richer because of the expanding activities of its many merchants (in the Greek quarter, called Campo dei Greci, the merchants possessed their own docks on the Rio dei Greci), the Greek community soon began to make plans for the construction of a church, the typical nerve center for every diaspora community. This construction, it should be noted, was due essentially to the patriotic initiative of Greek shipowners, captains, and seamen who, on each voyage to Venice, made a more or less voluntary contribution to the treasury of the colony.¹¹ The result, finally, was the erection in 1539 of the impressive church of San Giorgio dei Greci. For the building of this edifice in the Byzantine style (aside from the campanile), the colony procured the services of several famous Italian architects. The considerable work of ornamentation, however, was executed in the still viable Byzantine style of painting by Greeks of the community who had come from Crete or the Venetian-held Ionian islands.¹²

Even before this, however, in 1468, the distinguished Byzantine prelate Bessarion, who had supported religious union with Rome and had become a Roman convert, was so impressed with the increasing interest of the Venetians in classical Greek studies and with the refuge Venice offered to his compatriots, that he had termed Venice "almost a second Byzantium" ("quasi alterum Byzantium")¹³ and, as we have already noted, bequeathed his famed collection of Greek manuscripts

to her. Venice rapidly became a magnet for the emigration of many highly educated Greeks who sought to find employment in or near Venice or Padua.

In about 1500, the colony numbered close to 5,000, increasing in later years to possibly 10,000 out of a total Venetian populace of about 110,000.¹⁴ One of the principal services rendered by this growing community in the Renaissance was to provide a second or substitute homeland for Greeks in exile. The refuge that was afforded by Venice—where one could live as a Greek while residing in the most dynamic and richest of Western cities—was common knowledge in the entire Greek world from the late fifteenth century almost to the time of the Greek Revolution. This fact is especially notable for the period of the Renaissance, the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. One should therefore abandon the traditional stock picture of the poor Greek scholar escaping alone to the West, clutching his precious manuscripts in his hands, and with no specific destination in mind.¹⁵ From the correspondence of Greek humanists like Marcus Musurus, John Gregoropoulos, Michael Apostolis, Demetrius Ducas, and others, it is clear that they looked upon the community of Venice as a second homeland.¹⁶ By a curious irony, Venice, the arch-villain of the Fourth Crusade, which had been primarily responsible for abolishing the Byzantine state, was now in the position of acting as host, the chief receptacle as it were, for a large-scale Greek emigration to the West.

Among the most important Greek scholars whose careers centered wholly or partly in Venice, one of the earliest is Michael Apostolis of Constantinople. Living for the most part in Venetian Crete, he corresponded with Greek and Latin humanists in Venice or elsewhere, collected books for Bessarion's library, and seems to have founded a kind of school for scribes. Nevertheless, despite his desires, he was never able to acquire a post teaching Greek in an Italian academic institution. In this sense, therefore, his career may be considered more typical of the numerous émigré or refugee scholars from the East who never succeeded in making a successful career in the West. Michael also wrote one of the earliest appeals to a Western ruler (other than the pope), with the aim of relieving the Greeks from Turkish oppression. Addressing the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III, he appealed to him to "destroy this accursed race of Turks and restore the Greeks to their rightful heritage." The tenor of this letter would seem to indicate that Apostolis' views are in the Byzan-

tine tradition. For he seeks restoration of the old Roman or Byzantine political unity, with Frederick's son, in fact, to be enthroned as ruler of the East. Unfortunately, this highly rhetorical appeal provides no concrete details as to any proposed administrative organization or the possible role of the Greek church vis-à-vis Rome.¹⁷

More closely associated with the life and government of Venice was a man who was very probably the greatest Hellenist of the entire Western Renaissance, Marcus Musurus. Born on the Venetian-held island of Crete, Musurus studied in Venice with several eminent scholar-émigrés, notably Janus Lascaris, who with Bessarion acted as the patron of his fellow Greek intellectuals. Musurus' contributions to scholarship and to Greek patriotism are manifold and intertwined. As principal editor of the famous Aldine Press, he edited no less than eleven or twelve of the most important ancient Greek authors, among them the three tragedians and the complete corpus of Plato. His work necessitated the making of crucial decisions on textual readings, some of which, despite the advances of modern philology, are still accepted today. Moreover, as professor at the University of Padua and later in Venice, he taught no less than twenty-five of the West's subsequently noted humanists, who on their return to their homelands spread the seeds of interest in ancient Greek learning.

Musurus converted to Catholicism—a not uncommon occurrence for post-Byzantine humanists employed in Italy. But though such conversion entailed acceptance of papal primacy, it allowed for preservation of the Greek ritual, which for the sophisticated scholar-Greek of the diaspora (unlike for the more fanatic and simpler Greeks of the mainland) did not necessarily mean repudiation of one's ethnic distinctiveness. Musurus always remained a fervent Greek patriot. Thus, his celebrated "Hymn to Plato," which he prefixed to his Aldine *editio princeps* of the complete works of Plato and dedicated to the Hellenophile Pope Leo X, was in reality a plea to the spirit of Plato to so move the pope that he would launch a crusade to save "fainting Greece from the Turkish wolflike tyranny." This poem, the theme of which is the resurrection of the Greek nation, is considered by some scholars to be the finest piece of poetry written in the Greek language since antiquity.¹⁸

The capital contribution to Hellenic learning of the Italian Aldus Manutius is well known. In Venice, he published first editions of virtually all the principal ancient Greek literary works except Polybius. His printshop provided employment for a large number of

Greek inhabitants of the Greek community, especially Cretans, who worked as editors, transcribers, typesetters, or laborers. Researches suggest that not he, but his friend the Cretan émigré Zacharias Calliergis, may deserve credit for conceiving the idea of printing the first complete corpus of Greek literary works. It would be very strange indeed had no learned Greek émigré seen, in the revolutionary new invention of printing now rooted so strongly in Venice, an opportunity to make use of his special learning for commercial profit, while doing something perhaps to ameliorate the plight of his oppressed compatriots. Such, indeed, may have been the case with the publication in 1499 of Calliergis' *Etymologicum Magnum*.¹⁹ Probably edited by Musurus, who worked for Calliergis before going to Aldus, the work's title page and opening pages reproduce the old Byzantine ornamentation and utilize as Calliergis' printer's mark, the imperial Byzantine double-headed eagle.

In any event, Calliergis was the first, or one of the very first, to devote a considerable part of his printing production, in Venice and later in Rome, to the publication of Orthodox liturgical books.²⁰ This particular contribution of his, and of many later Greek presses in the Venetian Greek community, had the pragmatic purpose of providing much needed materials for worship, especially in the occupied East. And in the preservation of the Greek tradition, it ranks second only to the printing of the ancient literature. Indeed, the printing of Orthodox books in Venice was so enduring that even today on Mt. Athos, the citadel of Orthodoxy, most liturgical books in use have issued from Venetian Greek presses. (A qualification must be adduced in connection with Orthodox Russia, where sometimes another reaction was produced. There, for example, in the mid-seventeenth century, when Asenios Sukhanov returned to Moscow from Mt. Athos with Greek liturgical books printed in Venice, some Russians looked upon them suspiciously as being "contaminated" by Roman Catholicism.)²¹

In these various endeavors of the Venetian community, the number of Cretan names we find is striking. No less so are the large number of stemmata of Cretan families to be found in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries in the Grand Aula of the University of Padua, an indication of the surprising number of Cretans who studied there.²² Among the principal Cretan scholars is Demetrius Ducas, who edited for Aldus the *Rhetores Graeci* and Plutarch's *Moralia* (Ducas later worked in Spain); also, the Cretan Arsenios Apostolis, whose charac-

ter was so shady that even his patriotism seems equivocal. Finally, we might single out the Cretan Franciscus Portus, who taught at Ferrara and later at Geneva, Switzerland, and who is almost the only Greek émigré intellectual who converted to Calvinism. Yet he is best known for his edition of the scholia on Homer and for his erudite teaching of ancient Greek philology in Geneva.²³

Among other Greek literati in the Venetian colony was Demetrius Chalcondyles, who later taught also in Florence. The text of the (essentially still unpublished) discourse he delivered (in Latin) in 1463 before the Venetian Signoria on his assumption of the newly established chair of Greek at the University of Padua, is full of references to the culture of his ancient forebears (see chap. 13 and Appendix for translation and Latin text). It concludes with a moving exhortation to the doge to launch an expedition to save from the Turk "oppressed Hellas, prostrate like the damned in Dante's *Inferno*."²⁴

Modern historians almost invariably overlook these patriotic appeals to heads of Western governments by the Greek diaspora scholars as boring, rhetorical effusions of patriotism, or, more often, simply as irrelevant to the development of humanism. But the patriotism of these Greek humanists, especially their interest in securing aid for the resurrection of a Greek nation, cannot easily be separated from their scholarly work. Indeed, virtually all of them took advantage of their position and whatever rhetorical virtuosity they could summon to appeal on behalf of their lamented country.

Some of these apostrophes are, to be sure, excessively rhetorical and do at first glance seem of little interest to Western scholarship. But among the most eloquent, besides those of Musurus and Chalcondyles, are those of Bessarion. As virtual prime minister to several successive popes, he made it his lifework to travel throughout Europe seeking to persuade various powers, especially Venice and the papacy, to launch a joint expedition to expel the Turk from Constantinople. Another such appeal, unknown to Westerners, was written by Antonios Eparchos of Corfu.²⁵

Not all these scholars lived, technically, within the confines of the Greek colony. Janus Lascaris, though associating freely with his Greek compatriots, went as papal envoy to Madrid, where he too made an appeal to Charles V on behalf of his countrymen.²⁶ The humanist Constantine Lascaris wrote exhortations for aid from Messina,²⁷ and in Paris the second-generation Greek and member of the Pléiade, Nicholas Vergikios, wrote nostalgic poetry in French about

his homeland, Crete.²⁸ But as late as the seventeenth century, Venice remained the primary center for such appeals for the regeneration of a Greek nation.

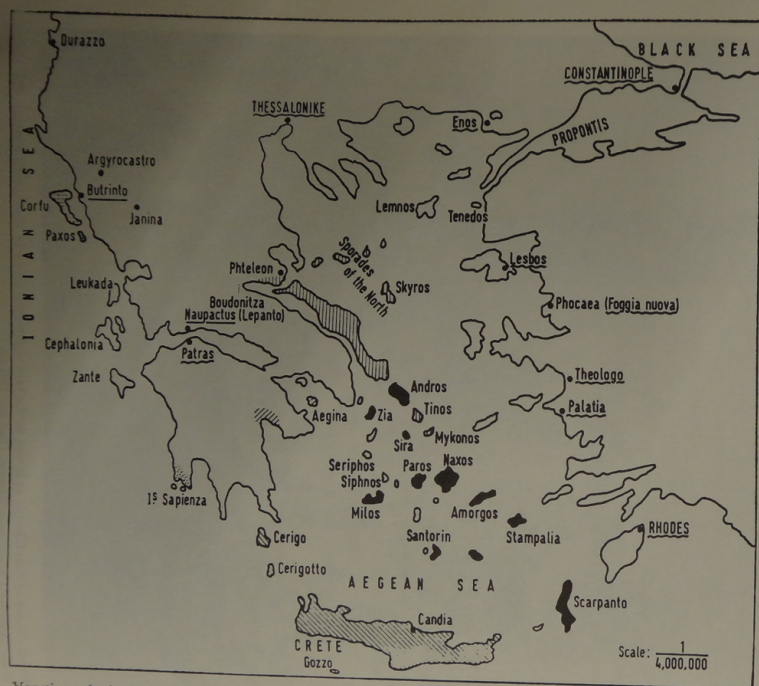
In not a few cases the diaspora scholars dangled before Western sovereigns the hope that, through military intervention, the latter could become rulers of a revived Byzantine, or perhaps even a new "Hellenic," nation. The sometimes pathetic appeals of these humanist émigrés deserve a special place in the history of the emergence of the modern Greek spirit of nationalism. For through their appeals, however rhetorical, they managed to keep before the crowned heads and intellectuals of Europe the image of the Greeks as an individual, still existent people, who though in bondage, would one day rise as a new nation from their prostrate position.

A few words on the activities of the nonscholarly inhabitants of the Venetian community. Most notable are the famous *estradioti*, the Greek light cavalry who served in the Venetian land forces. Their almost legendary exploits are mentioned in the Venetian sources, especially in Marino Sanuto's famous *Diarii* and in the decisions of the Council of Ten. These Greek troops, of course, needed little encouragement to combat an enemy anathema to themselves as well as Venice. It is not well known that at this time *estradioti* also served in the German armies, fought against the Spaniards, or—more often, as we shall see—in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were used by Spanish rulers in their wars against the Turks.²⁹ To mention only one *estradiot*, Michael Marullus, his family was originally from Constantinople but he himself was born in Ancona. A close friend of Lorenzo the Magnificent of Florence, Marullus later became celebrated as a poet of sensitive, lyric Latin verses, some evoking nostalgia for his lost Greek homeland.³⁰

Nor were artisans or artists lacking in the Venetian community. The most renowned artist is, of course, El Greco, who, born in Crete, spent some years in the Greek colony before proceeding to Spain.³¹ But merchants and their enterprises became, in time, probably the leading element in the colony. Indeed, the most flourishing era for the colony was the immediate post-Renaissance period, that is, after 1600 or 1650, when many of the merchants became wealthy. It was then that as a group or, more often in the Greek fashion, individually, they began to take an increasing interest in the spread of Greek learning to the Greek homeland and to other areas inhabited by Greeks. A Cypriot, Thomas Flanginis, in 1626 took the step of establishing in



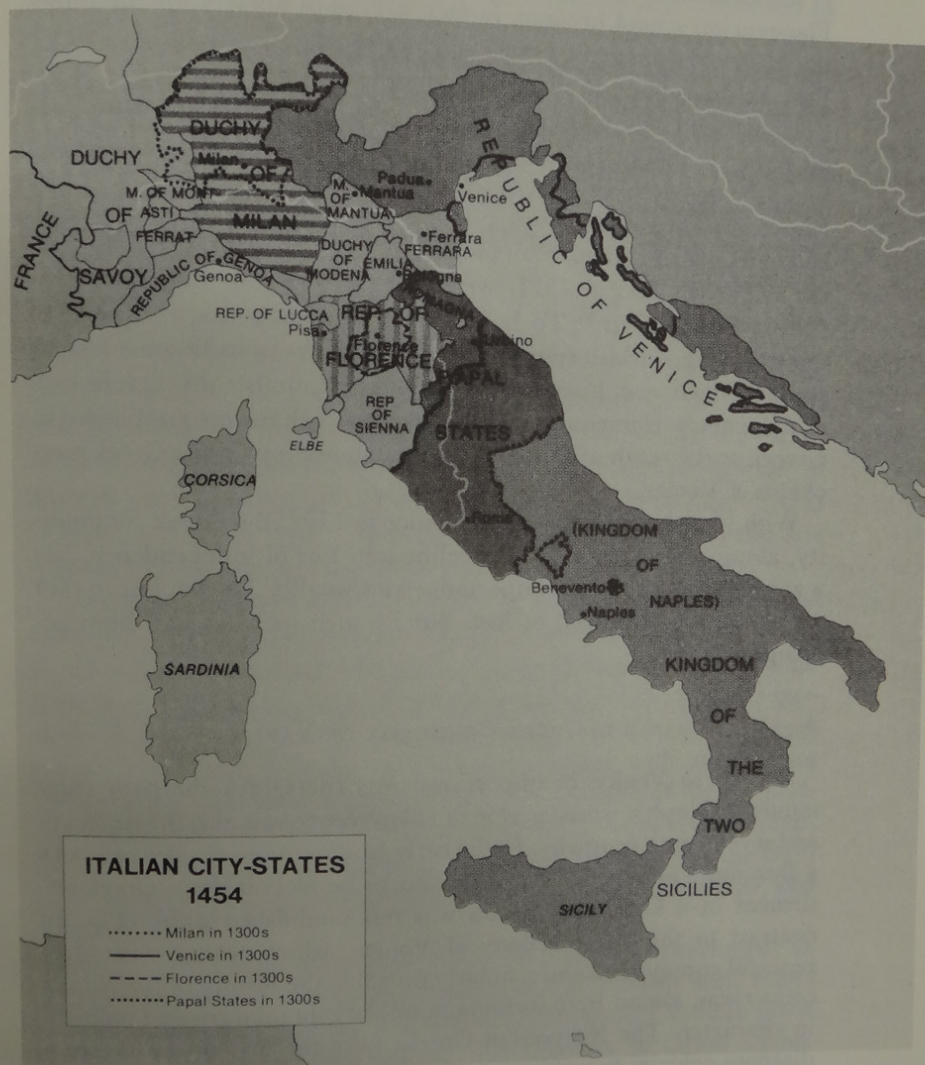
Greek church of San Giorgio as it was in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. (See pp. 168-69.)



VENETIAN COLONIES IN THE GREEK EAST FROM THE FOURTH CRUSADE (1204) TO THE RENAISSANCE

- Regno of Candia.
- Regno of Negropont.
- Government of Corfu and dependencies.
- Government of Nauplia.
- Coron and Modon.
- Protectorates of the Aegean.
- (Venetian) trading posts.

Venetian colonies in the Greek East from the Fourth Crusade (1204) to the Renaissance period. From D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966).



The Italian city-states in the Renaissance. From P. MacKendrick, D. Geanakoplos, and J. Hexter, *Western Civilization*, vol. 1, ed. W. Langer (New York: Harper & Row—American Heritage, 1968).

Venice what remained for about two centuries the most famous higher school established by a Greek for Greeks in Europe.³² This so-called Flangeneion school became, in fact, a kind of nursery for the subsequent establishment of Greek schools in many areas of the Greek East. In the rolls of the Venetian community (often referred to as the "Brotherhood of the Greek Nation") we find records revealing that on many occasions rich Greek merchants would send or bequeath funds for the establishment of schools not only in the Ionian isles, but even more important, during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on the Greek mainland. These merchants, especially after the fall of Cyprus in 1571, were largely Cypriots and, still later, Greeks from Epirus.³³ To be sure, during this period the policy of the declining Turkish state had for political reasons become less repressive in Greece. But this fact does not diminish the significance of the schools, elementary as most had to be, that were established in Greece as the result of the initiative and generosity of the Greek merchants of Venice.

With Napoleon's conquest of Venice in 1797, the Greek community, along with Venice's own decline and loss of independence, lost a good deal of its former importance and wealth. Its rich library, for example, was destroyed or lost. But by then its work had been accomplished.³⁴

THE GREEK COMMUNITY OF NAPLES

Second to Venice in importance was the Greek diaspora community of Naples, whose period of efflorescence was also the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the early Middle Ages, Naples had been a Byzantine possession, but what was to be technically a Greek settlement in a Latinized Naples was not established until 1435. In contrast to the Greek colony of Venice, which was dedicated to peaceful commercial and scholarly pursuits, the history of the Naples colony was, almost from its foundation, largely military and political in character. The Neapolitan Greeks were the first of the Western diaspora colonies to participate in attempts at rebellion in the Greek peninsula and, in fact, in almost every kind of anti-Turkish action organized outside as well as within occupied Greece. As a Spanish possession, the kingdom of Naples shared the Spanish rulers' ambitions in the Balkan peninsula. Moreover, the historical Spanish hostil-

ity to the Muslims coincided with Greek hatred for the Turk. Since Naples and Sicily were situated directly across from Greece, the Spanish viceroy from Madrid stationed in Naples had constantly to maintain powerful military forces in order to repulse a possible Turkish naval attack. The numerous Turkish pirates in the Mediterranean were a constant threat as well. In view of these conditions, the Greek inhabitants of Naples sought in large numbers to enroll in the Sicilian navy and cavalry forces. Not only could they vent their hatred against the Turks, but they could thus earn the means to maintain their families and sustain their burgeoning community. Indeed, who knew if some day they might not turn their military experience to the liberation of the Greek mainland?

The interests of the very few historians who have worked on the history of the Neapolitan Greek colony (there as yet exists no fully detailed, systematic study) have primarily focused on the religious conflicts of its church, that of Sts. Peter and Paul, against the claims of local Catholic ecclesiastical authorities. But indications exist in Spanish and Venetian documents that the activities of these Greeks of south Italy and Sicily, from the end of the fifteenth to the late seventeenth century, were much more than religious.³⁵

Though commercial activity is often mentioned, the most frequent references relate to a surprising number of attempts at revolt on the Greek mainland. These were usually directed from the Greek community of Naples and involved Greeks working for the Spanish government. In such attempts to foment revolt, members of the Greek colony were used in order to maintain contact with relatives or friends in Greece, something they could do because of their knowledge of Turkish and Greek. In time, a veritable network of agents, spies, and saboteurs was organized, whose activities covered the areas from Constantinople, Negropont, and the Morea, to Cairo and Alexandria.³⁶

Greek agents were also valuable to the Spanish government in transmitting information on the position of the Turkish fleet, rebellions of pashas, actions of the Janissaries, and especially Turkish plans for future military action. Though the network of Greek agents involved the eastern Sicilian and Calabrian coastal cities, the meeting place and center of organization was the Greek church of Sts. Peter and Paul in the Greek quarter of Naples. In a Venetian source, this church is revealingly referred to as being located "alla strada delli

greci, populatissima di quella nazione e di donne infami napoletane"³⁷ ("on the street of the Greeks, vastly populated by that people [or "nation"] and by infamous Neapolitan women").

The one who presided over such meetings was ordinarily the priest of the Greek community,³⁸ himself usually a graduate of the Greek College of St. Athanasius in Rome. This college had been founded in 1577 by the papacy, with the specific aim of training young Greeks to spread the gospel of Rome in the East. Although in some cases this worked out well for Rome (young Greeks were even imported from the Balkans or the Venetian-held Greek islands to attend St. Athanasius), in numerous others the Greeks made use of the education provided to help their own people.³⁹ Indeed, whether returning to Greece or remaining abroad, not a few reverted to the Orthodox faith. All, it would seem, took pride in the Orthodox ritual, acceptance of which to many Greeks was now the real "cultural" test of whether one was a Greek or not. In any event, though more Greeks than is generally realized accepted papal supremacy, virtually all seemed to maintain a sense of Greek patriotism and an unceasing desire to see their homeland freed of the Turk.

In the early sixteenth century, the Neapolitan noble Giovanni Lomellino sent many Greek spies to the Greek mainland to promote rebellion. In a report he wrote in 1530 to Emperor Charles V (whose support he sought) he stated that the people of Greece "stand with open arms ready to aid and that Spain should take 'Romanya.'"⁴⁰ Several implications may be drawn from this phrase: namely, that the Greeks of the Balkans in the early sixteenth century were not so docile as is usually believed, and that Spain's sphere of interest in this period extended to the former Byzantine territories—which are here termed "Romania" in the old Byzantine style, though it may be noted that the term "Greeks" is also used in the sense of a separate people or nation.

Especially stirred up by the sending of men, arms, and provisions directly from or through the instrumentality of the Greek colony of Naples, were the ever-warlike Epirots, in particular those of Chimara. The latter we find in revolt at least six times from 1566 to 1596 and, later, during almost the entire first half of the seventeenth century. Two Greek agents of the Spanish viceroy, both residents of the Naples community, were the Corfiot Pietro Longos and the Cypriot-Epirot, Geronimo Combina. Combina, especially, had connections not only with Epirus but with Negropont, Constantinople, and, after Cyprus's

fall in 1571, with several Cypriot attempts at revolt.⁴¹ After 1575, we find three hundred Greco-Albanians of Epirus registered in the light cavalry (*estradioti*) of the Neapolitan kingdom. Later, at the end of the sixteenth century, the well-born Cypriot copyist of the Neapolitan community, Giovanni Agiomavros, sought to aid Cyprus in its struggle against Turkey. This fact shows that participation in the colony's revolutionary activities was not limited to those of the political and military professions.⁴²

A key date in the opposition of Spain and Western Christendom as a whole to the Turks was the defeat of the Turkish fleet in 1571 at the famous naval battle of Lepanto, fought in Greek waters. Numerous Greeks and Albanians of Naples and Sicily participated on the Christian side.⁴³ This engagement should occupy a prominent place in the development of the idea of modern Greek independence; for one insufficiently stressed reason for the Turkish defeat was the rebellion, at the crucial moment, of the sultan's numerous Greek rowers, who, seizing the Turkish galleys, joined and fought against their masters alongside the Christian allies. Many of these Greeks, unable to return home after the battle, settled in Naples, where they were compensated by King Philip II with pensions or posts in the Sicilian fleet. Other Greeks, such as Marcos Raftopoulos and Theofilos Venturas, assumed dangerous missions to the Greek East or sought ever more vocally to persuade the Spanish government to support movements on behalf of the Greek liberation. After 1600 the revolutionary activities of the Neapolitan Greeks were intensified since they accorded well with the general policies of the Spanish king, Philip III.⁴⁴

During this period far fewer records exist of Greek intellectuals—professors, printers, editors, and artists—living in the Naples community than in Venice. And yet Greek had been spoken continuously in southern Italy from antiquity. Besides the eleventh-century Byzantine John Italus and the fourteenth-century Byzantine, proto-Renaissance humanists Barlaam and Pilatus,⁴⁵ the no less important post-Byzantine humanist, Constantine Lascaris, deserves mention. Lascaris spent the last phase of his life (that is, the late sixteenth century) teaching in Sicilian Messina. He left behind, among other works, a remarkable lament for the fall of Constantinople and a moving description of his own penury in exile.⁴⁶ More pertinent, his writings betray the same intense patriotism, even anguished concern, over the loss of his homeland that seems to be found in the works of virtually

all Greek scholars of the Renaissance. An oblique expression of his desire to preserve the Greek cultural heritage can be seen in his famous Greek grammar, the *Erotemata*, which is written in typical Byzantine style and, printed in 1476 in Milan, is considered by many to be the first Greek book printed in the West.⁴⁷

The military efforts of the Neapolitan Greek colony and its close relations with the Spanish viceroys evoked a sharp reaction from the sultan, who finally forced the patriarch of Constantinople to excommunicate all those Orthodox who engaged in any conspiratorial contact with the Spaniards of Naples.⁴⁸ This might at first glance be taken as another example of the so-called perfidy of the Phanariots. One must not forget, however, that the patriarch was directly under the thumb of the sultan and that not infrequently he issued directives which he expected, or perhaps even hoped, would be ignored by the more distant members of his flock.

The Greek colonization of Spanish Naples and Sicily intensified still more after 1650. Spanish authorities began to organize, in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, a military unit called the "Royal Macedonian Regiment," which consisted largely of newly arrived émigrés in Naples from Epirus and later from the Ionian isles, Macedonia, the Cyclades islands, and the Morea. Spanish interests in Greece, especially commercial ones, continued as late as the early nineteenth century. Such activities led to the development of a modern Spanish Philhellenism that is reflected in the literary production of certain Iberian romantic writers, especially Catalan, some of whom, such as de los Casas and the Sevillian Joseph García, even participated in the Greek War of Independence.⁴⁹

As time went on, individual Greeks were offered refuge by the Spanish rulers in Spain itself. That such Greeks engaged in many kinds of activities is shown by the career of the well-known soldier of fortune Pedro de Candia. Cretan-born, he was knighted by the Spanish king for leading the gunners of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru.⁵⁰ When the Cretan painter El Greco came to the Spanish capital of Toledo, he lived in or had close contacts with what has been termed a Greek colony, though it was then probably quite small. It now seems clear that he was preceded in Spain by at least two other talented Greek painters, both—like himself—called El Greco (the Greek).⁵¹ And in a recent work it has been shown that he had contacts with the royal scribe and librarian of the Escorial, another Cretan, Nicholas de la Torre.⁵² El Greco, too, as is proved by the Greek

signature on all his paintings, was proud of his lineage and appeared on several occasions in court to testify on behalf of fellow Greeks seeking to ransom a friend or relative from Turkish captivity in Greece.⁵³

The leading post-Byzantine Greek scholar to appear in Spain was the Cretan Demetrius Ducas, who went there at the request of the Spanish cardinal Ximenes, probably in 1513, to edit the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. He was also, as has recently been shown, probably the chief editor of an even more important work, the first published edition of the Greek text of the New Testament. An indication of Ducas' patriotism is his publication at his own expense, just before this, of the very first Greek books in Spain (Greek grammatical tracts and Musaeus' poem, "Hero and Leander"). Later, in Rome, he edited and printed the Orthodox liturgies of Sts. Basil and Chrysostom.⁵⁴

OTHER GREEK COMMUNITIES IN ITALY

Several other Greek communities of western Europe and their activities may be mentioned here. Of the Greek colony at Ancona the most notable representative was the aforementioned Michael Marullus;⁵⁵ another was John Gemistos, probably the grandson of the celebrated Gemistos Pletho, and secretary to the government of Ancona.⁵⁶ The sizable Greek community of Livorno, situated near Pisa, was founded in the latter part of the eighteenth century, in 1768, thus reversing roles, as it were, with the Pisans who had a colony in medieval Constantinople.⁵⁷ The last important colony of the numerous Greek communities founded in Italy was that of Trieste. It flourished in the preceding years, and its history is closely connected with the Greek Revolution.

Other cities of Italy, notably Renaissance Florence, Siena, and Rome, certainly included among their citizenry a number of Greeks; but reliable evidence about them is difficult to find. Moreover, it is doubtful whether they were ever formally organized or sufficiently numerous to be termed "communities."⁵⁸

Given the difficulty of fomenting successful revolt in Greece itself, one may well ask whether any of the diaspora colonies ever conceived the idea of establishing a Greek nation or state in exile. Such a remarkable though logical phenomenon did in fact occur in the late fifteenth century in connection with Siena and Venice. At this time

the wealthy émigré to Venice, Anna Notaras, daughter of the last Byzantine grand duke (in effect prime minister), made appeal to the Sienese government for the establishment of what she termed "a new Greek nation," to be located in the Tuscan Maremma area of Siena.⁵⁹ The project was apparently unsuccessful and we have no evidence of further developments. (The Maremma was an infertile and rather marshy area.) Nonetheless, the significance of this plan, however small, should not be minimized; for it suggests that hidden away in the archives may perhaps be found other evidence to reinforce the theory that, long before 1821, educated Greeks of the far-flung diaspora had already envisioned the founding of a new Greek state, even if outside the Balkan peninsula.

In this regard, a perusal of the many and sometimes eloquent appeals of Greek scholars to Western rulers may indicate (as a few do) that their authors were actuated, not only by a desire to see their Balkan compatriots emerge to freedom, but, by implication, to establish if necessary a new Greek nation, at least temporarily.⁶⁰ In any event, to arrive at solid historical conclusions such writings must be studied more systematically and in comparative fashion. In the case of Anna, the fact that she was the daughter of a Byzantine official must not induce one to assume automatically that her proposed state was intended as a successor to Byzantium. Even if such were the case, she no doubt had in mind, rather, the example of the extremely diminished Byzantine Empire in its last century or so of existence when it had become a purely Greek state, though the fiction of "Rome" was maintained virtually until the end in Byzantine court circles. Moreover, Anna herself, having lived for some time in Venice, was by now (ca. 1470) influenced by Western political conceptions. We know that she was a devotee of Bessarion who, as is clear from one of his letters, had himself been deeply influenced by Western politics, technology, and socio-economic ideas.⁶¹

Besides the well-known proposals of Bessarion shortly before 1453 for reform of the Byzantine state on the basis of Western models, we may cite a more radical plan, put forth in the same years and derived essentially from Platonic ideas. This plan came from the pen of the Byzantine philosopher Gemistos Pletho.⁶² Pletho had been in Florence at the time of the great church council (1438-39), had lectured to the Florentine humanists on Plato, and was well acquainted with ancient political writers such as Isocrates and Aelius Aristides. His interest in Western as well as Greek political ideas is proved by a

copy (now in Milan) of Leonardo Bruni's autograph of his famous Constitution of Florence, on which are inserted comments written in Pletho's own hand.⁶³ One scholar believes that Pletho had in mind not a utopian regeneration of Byzantium but the creation of a new form of state, to be located in the Morea and to be imbued with much of the political and cultural ideology of Plato. A prime ideal in its formation was to be the use of the term "Hellene" (Greek) to refer to its people rather than "Byzantine" (Roman), and, though some scholars do not accept this, it seems also to have entailed disestablishment of the Christian religion.⁶⁴

Pletho's plan, with its emphasis on the political example of the ancient Greeks, has been termed a key manifestation of Neo-Hellenism by some modern scholars. They also believe, however, that this development of a "national consciousness" in the last century of the Palaeologan period was, on the Greek mainland, cut off abruptly by Constantinople's fall in 1453 and the conquest of the Morea in 1460. Though the impetus for this sense of Greek "national consciousness" was, in fact, lost on the Greek mainland, it is the thesis of this chapter that it was able to continue uninterrupted and to undergo even further development among the Greek communities of the diaspora.⁶⁵

NORTHERN EUROPE

In northern Europe, Greek communities were also established, especially in the later Renaissance and afterward. But one may say in general that the farther away from Constantinople and the East the émigrés traveled, the less numerous and more isolated their groups or settlements tended to become. Thus France, more distant and with fewer political and commercial connections with Greece, received fewer émigrés. In the sixteenth century, the nucleus of a Greek colony seems to have existed in Lyons, at which time silk-workers were settled, apparently to establish a silk industry in competition with the Italians.⁶⁶ As might be expected, Greeks also appear relatively early in the French capital, Paris. With the beginnings of interest in Greek studies in France in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one finds a number of Greek savants in the French capital.

Best known of these scholars are: Janus Lascaris, who became envoy of the French king to Venice; also George Hermonymus, who was a capable copyist of texts despite Erasmus's and Budé's denigra-

tion of his abilities; further, the expert calligrapher Angelos Vergikios, official scribe to the French king, whose first name is supposed to have inspired the coinage of the phrase "to write like an angel"; and Antonios Eparchos, who presented a number of Greek manuscripts to King Francis I, which were to constitute the nucleus for the royal library at Fontainebleau and later for the famous Greek collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁶⁷ At least one Greek achieved a high post in the French military service, Bissypat, who has been mentioned in connection with Columbus, thus helping to give rise to the very curious myth of Columbus's supposed Byzantine ancestry. Bissypat was apparently descended from the aristocratic Byzantine family of Disypatos, of which the name Bissypat is supposedly a Western corruption.⁶⁸

From the time of Theodore of Tarsus, first archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century, a number of Byzantine visitors came off and on to distant England. In the twelfth century an account was written about England by a Greek, or half-Greek, with the curious name of Fitzstephen.⁶⁹ In the mid-fourteenth century, the Cretan Franciscan Petrus Philargos studied at Oxford, and at the very end of the same century the Byzantine emperor Manuel II and his entourage came to England, seeking aid against the Turks.⁷⁰ Then in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, during the English Renaissance, several Byzantine humanists, such as Andronicos Callistos and Hermonymos, appeared in London to teach Greek.⁷¹ In the seventeenth century an annual bursary scholarship was established at Oxford for a student to be brought from Greece.⁷² Despite these evidences of the presence of learned Greeks in England, the existence of a colony of Greeks in London before the late seventeenth or, more probably, the eighteenth century may be questioned. Still, documents found in the Cretan section of the Venetian archives, relating to transactions for the export of wines and cloth between Crete and England, attest to the possibility of more such emigration than is realized.⁷³ Certainly by the time of the Greek Revolution the Greek colony in London was well established.

Small groups of Greeks also appeared in Germany in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The names of Greek scribes, for example one Michael Markokephalites, appear on documents associated with the Council of Trent—scribes in the service of the learned Spanish Hellenist Mendoza. At the end of these documents, the copyists have frequently written "done by the hand of such and

such."⁷⁴ The close and protracted connections between the Reformation figure Melanchthon and, more important, the Hellenist Martinus Crusius of Tübingen University on the one hand, and the patriarchal court of Constantinople in the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the other, are well known. Crusius, who was interested not only in ancient but in Byzantine ecclesiastical texts, even visited Greece and as a result composed his famous *Turcograecia*.⁷⁵ These texts for a short time apparently produced a few ripples of unrest in Germany over the plight of the enslaved Greeks. Nor must we overlook as being outside our theme the relations of the celebrated seventeenth-century Greek patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lukaris, with the Calvinists. For through his many contacts with the West, his study at the Venetian University of Padua, his appearance at the Council of Brest in 1596, and his many exchanges with Protestant intellectuals, Cyril came to the realization that education was the best means of uplifting the spirits of his people and ultimately leading them to freedom.⁷⁶ In this he shared the sentiments of the Western diaspora Greeks who, however, had the advantage of working apart from the stultifying atmosphere of Turkish Constantinople. Whether or not Cyril was a real Calvinist, there is no doubt that he was, in his own way, a true patriot, and that through advancement of Greek learning—it was he who established the first Greek press in the East—he envisioned the improvement of the lot of his people.

Other examples, such as the wide connections with many European intellectuals of the sixteenth-century bishop living in the Venetian community, Maximos Margounios,⁷⁸ could be cited. But these are enough to show that the Greeks of the western European diaspora, after the fifteenth century, were becoming more numerous, richer, and better organized. They still lamented the plight of their compatriots in the homeland, but now, gradually, they began more actively to do what they could to promote education not only abroad but, more particularly, in Greece itself.

THE GREEK REVOLUTION AND THE DIASPORA

With the outbreak of the French Revolution, itself preceded by the intellectual movement of the eighteenth-century *philosophes*, scholars seem to agree that a new phase began to emerge in the history of modern Greece. It was, according to this view, these secular French ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity which, together with the

expansion of a nascent middle class, primarily inspired the Greeks and ultimately brought the homeland to revolution. Especially instrumental in this respect were, it is affirmed, the newer Greek colonies in Odessa, Vienna, and Paris, which became the centers of the secret *Philike Hetaireia*.⁷⁹ The importance of these considerations should not be underestimated. Yet one should point out that without the vital link provided for so long by the Greek diaspora colonies established earlier in the West, these later factors might not have exerted the influence they did. Because of the increasing ignorance and almost total lack of schools in Greece proper until the mid-seventeenth century, the Hellenic classical tradition in Greece (with very few exceptions) was growing weaker and weaker.⁸⁰ The Phanariots of Constantinople, especially in the Patriarchal School that continued to exist after the fall of Constantinople, stressed the Christian Byzantine tradition far more than the classical political ideology.⁸¹ Thus it was that the diaspora centers, especially Venice and Naples, served to perpetuate the ancient tradition and were its chief—indeed almost sole—effective bearers.

But why, then, did no successful revolt against the Turks take place from the diaspora areas? The fact is that these colonies, however wealthy and educated, were few in number and separated by too great distances to undertake joint effective action against the powerful Turk. The territorial contiguity that would have provided a greater sense of cohesion and strength was lacking. Nor were they always, one suspects, free of rivalry, as was the case with Naples and Venice. True, they were imbued with the same ideas, especially the feeling of being legatees of the ancient culture, and they almost invariably paid at least lip service to the patriarch in Constantinople.⁸² The political cohesion of each colony was, moreover, enhanced by the erection and maintenance of a church building. But one should not forget, finally, that the communities were under the surveillance of their host city. And that host, however tolerant, after the reactionary triumph of the Holy League in 1815, could not permit any seditious or revolutionary conduct on the part of its subjects, especially foreigners.

In the last analysis, the revolution had to come from the homeland itself, from the Greek peninsula, less likely from Constantinople, and least likely from the weaker Greeks of Asia Minor. As noted, the Phanariots of Constantinople and Asia Minor, though usually well educated, were engrossed in their own schemes and loath to risk

danger to their exposed position. Arnold Toynbee somewhere suggests that, had the Greek Revolution not occurred when it did, in a matter of decades the Phanariots might have taken over the entire Ottoman administration from within.⁸³ And who knows, then, what kind of Greek nation or possibly even hybrid Greco-Turkish union (as some Greeks envisioned) might have resulted? Accordingly, it was among the long-suffering, simpler, and more numerous Greeks of the mainland that the revolution began. And yet this movement was not nearly so abrupt as has been portrayed; the way had been paved by the earlier diaspora colonies. Not only did they preserve the vital sense of national identity through emphasis on a historical continuity from the time of the ancient Greeks, but they managed effectively to disseminate education about the ancient past to the populace of the mainland.

That the Greeks of the homeland, from sometime in the fifteenth century to almost the last part of the seventeenth, had fallen into almost total cultural darkness, has already been emphasized.⁸⁴ Kakrides and other modern Greek scholars maintain that as late even as the eighteenth century the vast majority of those living in Greece still did not appreciate the ancient cultural inheritance, though they always clung to the Orthodox faith. They had a vague feeling, to be sure, that they were somehow connected with the ancient inhabitants of Greece, but they tended to view them as supermen, giants of physique as well as intellect.⁸⁵ Actually, these Greeks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were groping for some means of identification with the ancients. The folklore of the period reveals that many in fact were unclear as to how to refer to themselves, a few combining the terms "Greek" and "Roman" ("Byzantine") in the hybrid term "Romeoellenes."⁸⁶ At least in some areas of the mainland, then, the Greeks lacked a consistent ideology—a quality important for the emergence of a true sense of nationhood.

The catalytic agent most responsible for producing, finally, a clear sense of the past on the mainland was, I believe, the educational work of the more historically aware Greeks of the diaspora. What the diaspora Greeks, and especially those of Venice, were able to do for the Greeks of the homeland was to juxtapose, or perhaps better to superimpose, the classical tradition of antiquity onto the Christian tradition of Byzantium and thus to recover for the Greeks of the continent a sense of the *entire* history of their past. When this happened, the ground was truly prepared for the late eighteenth-